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Cet ouvrage donne de l'information au sujet de la situation actuelle qui est faite aux filles et aux femmes en matière d'éducation dans un certain nombre de pays. Il offre un panorama varié reflétant les différentes approches législatives, les changements intervenus dans le domaine de l'éducation, dans la formation professionnelle et dans le marché du travail ainsi que les conditions sociales variées qui sous-tendent les décisions politiques. Des comparaisons sont établies entre les pays qui ont des politiques clairement définies et ceux qui n'en ont pas, mettant en relief les contextes économiques qui expliquent ces différences. Enfin, l'ouvrage examine la pertinence et l'efficacité des diverses politiques.

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FEMMES ET ÉDUCATION : POLITIQUES NATIONALES ET VARIATIONS INTERNATIONALES

Margaret B. SUTHERLAND
et
Claudine BAUDOUX

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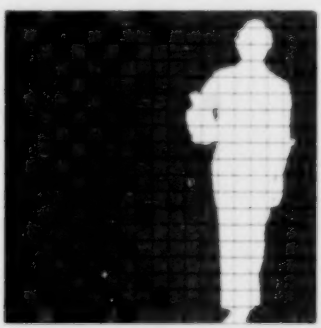

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Margaret B. Sutherland,
en collaboration avec Claudine Baudoux

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PRÉFACE

L'inégalité de traitement en matière d'éducation et de formation qui est présente un peu partout dans le monde entre garçons et filles ou entre hommes et femmes est abondamment reconnue. Depuis les trois dernières décennies, beaucoup de pays ont tenté de remédier à cette situation. Toutefois, la reconnaissance officielle de ce problème varie considérablement selon les pays et les moyens utilisés pour combattre cette discrimination restent très diversifiés. Certains pays ont procédé par législation, d'autres ont confié à certains ou à certaines ministres des responsabilités particulières en ce domaine; d'autres ont présumé que l'amélioration du système éducatif conjuguée aux forces du marché résoudraient le problème sans qu'il y ait nécessité d'adopter quelque mesure contraignante que ce soit.

Grâce à la coopération du Congrès mondial d'éducation comparée, et grâce surtout à l'initiative et à la persévérance de Margaret Sutherland qui n'a pas ménagé ses efforts pour mener à terme ce projet, des chercheuses provenant de divers pays se sont réunies pour rechercher et évaluer les politiques régissant l'éducation des femmes. Chacune a étudié la situation prévalant dans son propre pays au cours des dernières décennies. Elle en a examiné parallèlement les politiques, les lois, les règlements, ainsi que les changements intervenus dans le domaine de l'éducation, dans la formation professionnelle et dans le marché du travail.

Cet ouvrage présente le résultat de ces recherches. Il livre de l'information au sujet de la situation actuelle qui est faite aux filles et aux femmes en matière d'éducation dans certains pays: les États-Unis, le Burkina Faso, le Canada, la France, la Hongrie, l'Italie, le Japon, le Sri Lanka, l'Espagne, l'Uruguay, le Zimbabwe et le Royaume-Uni. Il offre donc un panorama varié, qui aborde tant la situation des pays développés que celle des pays en développement, reflétant les différentes approches législatives aussi bien que les conditions sociales variées qui sous-tendent les décisions politiques. Dans une deuxième partie, ces comparaisons servent à départager les pays qui ont des politiques clairement définies à l'égard des femmes d'autres pays qui n'ont pas ces pratiques. Il s'avère nécessaire d'établir dans cette étude des relations entre ces politiques et les différents contextes économiques de ces pays. Enfin, l'ouvrage examine la pertinence de ces diverses politiques, tente de repérer les stratégies les plus ou les moins efficaces, et émet des propositions destinées à servir de guides lors d'éventuelles prises de décision.

Il convient de remercier chaque participante pour sa contribution particulière au document présent et pour avoir répondu à nos diverses demandes d'éclaircissements. Je voudrais remercier tout particulièrement Margaret B. Sutherland, qui a depuis plusieurs décennies consacré ses recherches à la promotion de l'éducation des filles, bien avant le renouveau du mouvement féministe, et à une époque où de telles études étaient moins légitimées qu'aujourd'hui. Cet ouvrage collectif porte sa marque et constitue un encouragement pour chacune d'entre nous.

Claudine Baudoux

It has been amply recognized that boys and girls, and men and women, are treated unequally, in the areas of education and training, in many places throughout the world. In the last

three decades, many countries have attempted to remedy the situation. However, official recognition of the problem varies considerably from country to country, and widely different means of combatting such discrimination continue to exist. Some countries have used the legislative process, others have given men or women ministers special responsibilities in this area; others still have assumed that the joint effect of market forces and an improved educational system would solve the problem, in the total absence of constrictive measures.

Thanks to the cooperation of the World Congress of Compared Education, and thanks above all to the initiative and perseverance of Margaret Sutherland who has spared no effort to bring this projet to fruition, women researchers from several countries have united to research and evaluate the policies controlling women's education. Each has studied the situation prevailing in her own country in recent decades. In parallel, she has examined policies, laws, and rules and regulations, as well as change, in education, in professional training, and on the job market.

This volume offers the results of this research. The first part provides information on the educational contexts now presenting themselves to girls and women in a number of countries: the United States, Burkina Faso, Canada, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Sri Lanka, Spain, Uruguay, Zimbabwe, and the United Kingdom. It thus offers a broad and varied perspective, embracing both developed and developing countries, and reflecting a variety of legislative approaches, as well as the varied social conditions that underlie political decisions. In the second part of the volume, comparisons have served to determine which countries now have clearly defined policies regarding women and which do not. In so doing, it has proven necessary to establish relationships between such policies and the economic contexts of the countries concerned. Finally, the appropriateness of the various policies is examined, an attempt is made to single out the strategies that are most efficient, or least efficient, and guidelines for

potential decision making are proposed.

Claudine Baudoux

Very many thanks are also due to all the members of the group for their effective and friendly collaboration. In particular a great debt of gratitude is owed to Claudine Baudoux not simply for her admirable contribution but especially for her initiative and devoted work in bringing a heterogeneous set of scripts to this unified conclusion.

Margaret B. Sutherland

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PREMIÈRE PARTIE

1. NATIONAL POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

Margaret B. Sutherland

During the last three decades interest in the education of girls and women has appeared and grown strong in many, if not all, countries of the world. This interest is evident in a number of policy decisions made by various governments, usually affecting not only the education but also the employment and social welfare of women. Since there are divergence in policies it is important to consider how different countries have attempted to improve the situation of the female part of their population. The study of policies in different systems may reveal some of the factors which determine such policies and their implementation: it can also throw light on differences in implementing policies and the possible causes of such differences. Most valuably, such study may show which policies and which implementations have led to real change and real improvements in the situation of girls and women.

Defining and assessing national policies cannot be a straightfoward process. There is the question whether the policy of the government in power at a given time necessarily represents the real, or the only, national policy. It could be argued that there is a kind of national policy expressed in the informal education provided for young people in a country and

in the expectations and traditions of social life and the labour market. Such national policies are difficult to define: but they can be recognised as effective even if they are only implicit policies. In a rather similar way, it can be argued that professional organisations of teachers have a national policy in education: research councils for education may work according to a national policy: other national organisations such as trade unions or professional associations may formulate and pursue a kind of national policy.

If national policy is taken to be the policy stated by a governmental or official source, there remain considerable differences between systems which have centralised control and those where control is delegated to regional or local authorities. While there may be some general principles and laws to be observed in the latter case, it may also happen that the "lesser" authorities determine and implement policies of their own which differ from each other, so that a general "national" policy cannot be claimed to exist. Where there is a centralised control of education, certainly there is one policy for the system as whole: yet even here differences may arise in the understanding and implementation of that policy by authorities at regional or district levels. The complications are greater still in countries which have a federal system of government since their policymaking may occur at three levels-federal, individual state, region/district.

Further, there exist very considerable difference between countries in the explicitness or otherwise of their statements of principles. There are countries which have a formal, written constitution to which reference can be made when policy is being considered. There are countries in which there is no such written provision. Legal enactments also vary in the extent to which they expound the principles on which they are based, or restrict themselves to statements of actions to be taken or not taken. At present there is some debate as to whether it is beneficial or otherwise to the citizens of a country to have a written constitution: similarly it may be questioned whether it is beneficial to the education of girls and women if the government of a country has a formal central policy for such education. Evidence coming from countries which have such formal policies and from others which do not have them may cast light on this debate.

It is also well known in comparative education studies that differences are likely to exist between formal statements of policies, in laws or school curricula, and the actual implementation of these policies in practice. The window-dressing which may be all that is achieved or intended by some official pronouncements has always to be considered by bringing into relationship the formal policies and the actualities of the situation in educational establishments and in the life of society in general.

Certainly national policies may not always single out education as the field in which they are to be effective. Stated policies may relate to more general provisions for social welfare, health, conditions of employment, rather than to education alone. It is in any case true that education cannot be studied in isolation from these other aspects, even though the educational system of a country is one of the most important, affecting the whole population, and being particularly susceptible to governmental interventions: but if policies affecting education are intertwined with these wider provisions it becomes the more difficult to assess the educational aspects or the results of policies in education.

It also possible that national policies for education will not make special reference to the female half of the population but will assume rather that formal provision of education applies equally and undiscriminatingly to females and males. Specific reference to females is rather more probable in official policies concerned with welfare and employment, when attention is given to such matters as protection of the health of mothers and children, protection against dangerous employments, maternity benefits, child-care. These matters admittedly are not without relevance to education, even if tangentially: but they are matters in which the need for special provision for females has been recognised for some time: the possible need for special attention to girls and women's

education has only recently been brought to public notice: it is thus less likely that provisions for education will receive the amount of support which has already become established for welfare provisions.

Thus, to study national policies for the education of the girls and women requires attention to differences in the traditions and practices of a variety of countries: it requires attention to specific or implicit provisions: it requires careful disentangling of the various social factors which affect that education and are affected by it. Yet the statistics of education within countries over periods of some years and analysis of changing situations and legal provisions, as well as evaluation by experts within countries, may provide highly useful insights.

One further strand must be noted. For various Western European countries, as intermittent progress is made towards fuller integration in an European Community, the question of policy declarations by this European Community must arise. Certain principles relating to the education and employment of women have already been stated by the Commission of the Community and ratified by various member states. The action taken so far has been generally to try to ensure equal opportunities for women (as well as for other disadvantaged groups) by supporting certains forms of vocational education and further and higher education for women: the Equal

Treatment Directive 76/207, for example, attempted to reduce sex discrimination in vocational training. The Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, approved by the Heads of eleven member states (though not by the UK) in Strasbourg, 1989, further includes this statement (Title I, 17): "Equal treatment for men and women must be assured. Equal opportunities for men and women must be developed. To this end action should be intensified to ensure the implementation of the principle of equality between men and women as regards in particular access to employment, remuneration, working conditions, social protection, education, vocational training and career development. Measures should also be developed enabling men and women to reconcile their occupational and family obligations" (Social Europe, 1990). Thus it can be said that elements of an international policy are being introduced into the national policies of member states, though the implementation of that policy remains to be determined by individual governments. Additionally, since the second Community Programme for developing equal opportunities for women ended in 1990, a third such programme now follows.

It could of course be argued also that the Declaration of human Rights and the influence of the United Nations may lead to an international policy superseding national policies: the UN convention on eliminating all forms of discrimination against women was adopted in 1979 and came into force in 1981.

Yet world-wide recognition and implementation of this policy seem remote. Certainly the European Community directives are more precise and immediate and thus probably more likely to have a real effect on member states' actions.

Taking a defaulting government to the European Court of Justice may also be regarded as an attempt to make international policy supersede national policy. It has been effective to some extent - e.g. in the amendment of the Equal Pay Act of 1970 in Britain because it failed to legislate for equal pay for work of equal value. In this context, however, as in the purely national context, appeal to an international jurisdiction seems to focus rather on individual cases of default - which admittedly embody a principle which could be generalised - rather than redefine general policy. It has also been pointed out that many member countries of the Community seem to have embarked on small-scale projects to improve the situation of women rather than on "coherent action as part of national policy".

Any European policy would have to adapt to the considerable differences in national traditions of education. Even within countries, different regions may show a range of provision and achievement in female education. While there is evidence of common European traditions concerning the place and the role of women in society, and while the evolution of school systems in European countries displays some important common

feature- moves towards coeducation, gradually increasing access of girls to academic secondary education and women's access to higher education - yet individual countries have made their own decisions to formulate policies for women's welfare and education, or not to formulate such policies because they believe separate statements are unnecessary in the democratic situation.

And if differences are evident among European countries, differences are equally to be noted in other continents of the world. Again it is true that certain attitudes to women and their education seem to be found world-wide. Nevertheless, the different social and economic conditions, as well as the educational traditions of North and South America, Africa, Asia, Australia, make studies of the situation in some countries of these regions necessary and valuable.

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2. STATE POLICY AND GENDER EQUITY IN U.S. EDUCATION

Nelly P. Stromquist

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The major thrusts of the feminist movement in the United States in the last two decades have been the increased access of women to employment and their improved conditions in the labor force. The concern for maternity leave and child care rights that accompanied the movement further emphasized women's role as workers. Formal education, despite its powerful reproductive as well as transformative power, received less attention than it deserved. The creation of "equal and unsegregated education" was among the objectives of the feminist movement, but it was only sixth on a list of eight[0].

An important means used by women to improve their condition has been public policy, particularly federal

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0 These objectives appeared in the 1967 Bill of Rights of NOW, the National Organization for Women, the largest and most active feminist organization in the 60s and 70s. It should be clarified that while the feminist movement has not zeroed in on formal education with the intensity it merits, the movement has fulfilled intensive and successful educational functions (in the larger sense of the word) through developing feminist critiques of several disciplines; questioning the existence of patriarchal ideologies in society; developing feminist newspapers, magazines, journals, and publishing companies; and establishing women's studies programs in numerous universities.

legislation. The federal government, more so than the state-level governments, has been a target of feminist pressure because it is easier to exert leverage on it (given the larger number of legislators and the larger size of the constituency to which they must respond). Also, gains at the federal level have significant repercussions at lower levels of government, as legislation imitation effects filter down to lower levels. Finally, since the federal government embodies the symbol of the nation-state, it is more vulnerable to departures from democratic principles and practice. Specifically in the area of education, since 1972 three main federal statutes were enacted to protect or promote women's rights in education. These are: Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972, the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) passed in 1975, and a series of vocational education acts started in 1976 and continued to the present. In addition, thirteen states have enacted legislation that parallels Title IX (Kohl, 1987) and 31 states have some legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in primary and secondary education programs (Brown and Reid, 1987)[1]. Many of these states initiated sex-equity reforms after Title IX (Klein, 1987).

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1 Reportedly the most progressive states in gender equity comprise California, New York, and Massachusetts (Brown and Reid, 1987).

Title IX, a very comprehensive legislation, offered mostly the "stick" of the law. It contained regulations to bar sex discrimination of students and personnel in any academic, extracurricular, research, or training program (ranging from preschool to postgraduate) provided by an organization or agency that received federal aid. Its regulations covered a number of key areas (admissions, recruitment, housing facilities, access to course offerings, financial assistance, employment, and athletics) and aimed at promoting equality of treatment between men and women. There were, however, exemptions regarding military schools, religious organizations, and social groups such as fraternities and sororities at the college level and the boys and girls scouts organizations. In contrast, WEEA and the vocational education legislation represented the "carrot" of the law. They provided financial resources and technical assistance to encourage the design, adoption, and implementation of new programs that could foster more gender egalitarian environments in the schools.

2.2 SEX EQUITY THROUGH EDUCATION

In its initial demands, contemporary feminism sought to remove all barriers to the attainment of women's social and economic equality. The main goal was that of parity in occupation, pay, responsibility, and power. As the debate

evolved, it became clear for many women that simply attaining parity with men would not be the total answer to the problem of gender. Some feminists saw the need to transform society in more fundamental ways by rescuing values suppressed as weak and feminine; others asserted that women possessed important differences (e.g., caring and relational qualities) that it was necessary to revalue without necessarily placing women only in the category of mothers and wives. The application of feminist perspectives to education for many meant fighting for equal access, treatment, and parity in fields of study. Those who wanted to transform society concluded instead that more access to school was insufficient and that both teachers and curricula should undergo substantial revision to incorporate new subjects, knowledge, and visions.

There continues to be a strong tension between parity and transformational aims. Title IX has been designed mostly along the lines of sex equity --working for equal access and treatment of women within educational programs and institutions. WEEA's mandate could have included new knowledge and visions but it has concentrated mostly on the elimination, or at least reduction, of sex biases and stereotypes in educational curricula, textbooks, and among school personnel (teachers, administrators, counselors).

The purpose of this chapter is to review the implementation history of Title IX and WEEA, identify the changes they have

promoted in the conditions of women's education, and discuss the findings in the context of a framework that links state and gender.

2.3 THE LEGISLATION: INTENTIONS AND ACTUAL PRACTICES

2.3.1 TITLE IX

Feminist groups struggled for several years to have federal legislation enacted against sexual discrimination in education. They finally succeeded in having their demands enacted as an unnoticed addendum in a general bill (Fishel and Pottker, 1977; Califano, 1981; Gelb and Palley, 1982); thus Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was born. It read:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

After passage, elements of this requirement were seen by certain groups, particularly those related to intercollegiate sports, as potentially leading to controversial situations. In consequence, the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) took three years (1972-75) to translate it into specific regulations and four additional years to produce "policy interpretations" dealing with the issues of equity in athletics.

The regulations of Title IX explicitly omitted consideration of texts and even curricular content; thus section 86.42 of its regulations states:

> Nothing in this regulation shall be interpreted as requiring or prohibiting or abridging in any way the use of particular textbooks or curricular materials.

The enforcement of Title IX was not given to a separate agency but assigned to HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR), which was already charged with enforcing nondiscrimination along the lines of race, age, and physical disability. When the Carter Administration took over in 1977 there were 1400 sex discrimination complaints pending in HEW that had not been investigated (The Editors, 1979, p. 511). In the first years of Title IX, HEW investigators resolved less than one complaint per investigator per year, but OCR officials claimed that by 1979 12 cases per year were being handled per investigator (The Editors, pp. 512 and 518). Since 1982 OCR has received a total of about 1400-1800 complaints per year. According to an OCR informant, complaints were not handled through computerized procedures until that year--before that they had been in "3x5 cards in shoeboxes". By 1987, Title IX represented less than 10% of the total OCR complaint loads; most of the complaints have focused on handicapped (54%) and racial (20%) issues.

Under the Reagan Administration, the courts supported narrow judicial interpretations and decisions which contested

the scope of Title IX (Flygare, 1982; Flygare, 1984). Two important examples are:

(a) the Grove City College vs. Bell case in 1984, in which the Supreme Court decided that Title IX regulations applied only to those portions of school programs and activities funded directly or indirectly, not to the total institution, and

(b) the dismissal by a federal court in December 1987 of the Adams order that required the OCR to respond to Title IX complaints within 90 days.

The Bush administration continued its hostile position toward Title IX. However, congressional reaction was successful in passing the Civil Rights Restoration Bill of 1988. This bill countered the Supreme Court decision on Grove City College vs. Bell by asserting that "program and activity" involved "all operations" of an agency or educational organization, thus granting OCR jurisdiction to initiate an investigation of any institution receiving federal funds, a measure that gave OCR greater enforcement powers over Title IX[2].

2.3.2 WOMEN'S EDUCATION EQUITY ACT (WEEA)

Feminist groups spent three years (1971-74) of lobbying efforts before this law was enacted. It passed as part of the

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2 On the other hand, a broader effort by the U.S. Congress (embodied under the Civil Rights Act of 1990) to counteract various US Supreme Court decisions limiting the interpretation of legislation to eliminate gender and other forms of social discrimination was, unfortunately, vetoed by President Bush.

Special Projects Act of 1974 and was extended in 1978, this time as part of the Educational Amendments of 1978. WEEA legislation has provided discretionary grants for educational organizations and individuals (state governments, universities, research centers, and private researchers) to develop, evaluate, and disseminate curricula, textbooks, and other educational materials, to provide pre- and in- service teacher training, to improve guidance and promote quality of education for women at all levels of education, and to offer adult education for women, particularly those underemployed.

Initially the WEEA program had been expected to provide a large amount of financial resources so that all types of educational agencies and institutions would be encouraged to explore alternative educational environments to achieve gender equity. Its advocates anticipated that some $40 million would be available to carry out the program each year. As noted earlier, however, the WEEA Act itself was legislated as part of the Special Projects Act, which was supposed to be funded for $200 million a year. When President Ford requested only $39 million for the Special Projects Act, the share for the WEAA Program became $6.3 million. WEEA attained its highest level of funding at $10 million in FY 1981; it declined gradually about one million dollars per year since then until it reached $500,000 in 1993, or enough to cover only its publication and dissemination center.

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With only limited funding provided for the implementation of this legislation, HEW and its successor, the Department of Education, gave priority to projects dealing with teacher training to develop awareness of sex-role stereotyping, to programs fostering women's access into leadership positions, and to initiatives encouraging broader career options for women. Priority setting has helped only in part because the monies available for research and demonstration grants have been extremely competitive, with approximately 30 grants funded out of over 500 presented on the average per year. Due to the low funding of WEEA, local school districts --the units that conduct the day-to-day teaching of students from kindergarten to high school in the U.S.--have not received WEEA funding up to the present.

2.4 TRACING IMPACTS OF SEX EQUITY LEGISLATION

The highly decentralized nature of U.S. education, with approximately 15,500 school districts makes it difficult to evaluate the impact of federal legislation on the condition of women's education. The existence of additional state laws and in some cases more conservative positions by state educational agencies further complicate the assessment of legislative impact. Nonetheless, there are several nationwide conditions that can be contrasted between 1972 and the present, and which

shed light on the progress that has occurred. Five crucial educational areas are reviewed below:

2.4.1 TEXTBOOK MATERIALS

As seen earlier, the Title IX guidelines excluded textbooks. Yet the impetus of the feminist movement prompted the creation of textbook review committees at both state- and school district-levels to examine the presence of stereotyped messages in school textbooks. Also, several key publishers issued guidelines for the publication of nonsexist materials, a move first started by Scott, Foresman in 1972[3].

Little nationwide or statewide information is available on the extent to which educational textbooks have removed sexual stereotypes and made women more visible in the realities they portray. A recent summary of research findings by the American Association of University Professors (1992) found that school textbooks have improved at the elementary but less so at the secondary school level.

Some evidence from textbooks utilized in teacher training programs, based on a study by Sadker and Sadker (1980), indicates these materials have undergone little change. The

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3 This document was entitled Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks. Others that followed suit were Houghton Mifflin's guidelines for Avoiding Stereotypes (1975) and McGraw-Hill with its Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes (1974)

authors reviewed 24 of the most popular textbooks used in pre-service teacher training programs during 1973-78. Their content analysis of these textbooks revealed that the topic of sexism was given less than 1% of the narrative space, that sex equity tended to be omitted entirely or given incomplete treatment, and that the contributions of women to education were not even mentioned. The authors also found that science and math textbooks--subject areas in which women tend to be considerably less prominent--showed the greatest imbalance in the treatment of boys and girls. The authors concluded that "since it is often difficult for classroom teachers to gain access to educational research, it is crucial that this information be included in teacher-education texts" (p. 43).

In all, when looking at changes in the area of textbooks, it appears that market forces rather than legislation (i.e., the fear of boycott of certain books by feminist parents) may have led publishers to modify the gender content of textbooks.

2.4.2 CURRICULUM CONTENT

Since Title IX excluded "textbooks or curricular materials", the modifications that have been made in instructional programs to provide for greater equity have been primarily voluntary. WEEA funding has made it possible to introduce new content areas in the classrooms. Between 1974-79 the WEEA Program funded 220 grants totaling over $21 million to

develop curriculum and training materials. The most useful products were the training materials for administrators and teachers which were designed to familiarize them with the rationale and methodology for implementing Title IX. In total, WEEA has produced over 100 educational materials, ranging from texts to videotapes. These materials, however, have had limited circulation since only three of its publications have sold more than 5,000 copies and only six more than 3,000 copies (Applied Systems Institute, 1985).

2.4.3 TEACHER TRAINING

As noted earlier, efforts under this rubric were to be covered by WEEA, but its limited funding has allowed only a scant number of training initiatives. An important initiative supported by the WEEA Program was the development of national models of educational equity at the school-district level; five such models were funded. The evidence suggests that these demonstration projects have been successful in changing intra-district behaviors and attitudes. Yet, the dissemination and adoption of these experiences has been limited. There is no research documenting how the major teacher unions have reacted to the federal sex equity legislation; their role in facilitating in-service training along gender equity considerations is not well known.

2.4.4 ACCESS OF WOMEN TO ADVANCED EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

In the U.S., parity between men and women in primary and secondary education has existed for a long time. In 1972, however, there were significant gender disparities in higher education, and the gap was wider as the degree moved from the bachelor degree to the Ph.D. As Table 1 shows, in the 15-year period between 1972 and 1987, women achieved parity with men in both the Bachelors and the M.A. degrees. Considerable progress has also been made at the Ph.D. level, as women have increased their representation from 16% to 36%[4].

Table 1. Women as Proportion of Total Degree Holders

Degree earned	71-72	79-80	84-85	88-89*
Bachelors (B.A. or B.S.)	44	49	51	52
M.A. degree	40	50	50	52
Ph.D. degree	6	30	34	36
First Professional degree	6	25	33	36

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1973, 1981, 1986, and 1989. *Estimated.

Contrary to widespread belief, Title IX did not establish quotas for student admissions to educational programs. It did force educational programs and institutions to correct

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4 Considering the population as a whole, important difference in education remain: In 1987, 23.6% of all men had completed four or more years of higher education, compared to 16,5% of all women (Census Bureau data, cited in The Chronicle of Higher Education, 1988)

admission practices that limited the number of women students. Table 2 shows seven field of study choices by successful completion at the Bachelors level.

Table 2. Proportion of Women Attaining Bachelors Degrees in Selected Fields

Field	1971-72	1979-80	1985-86
Civil Engineering	1	9	13
Mechanical Engineering	0.6	7	10
Mathematics	39	42	49
Education	75	74	76
Foreign languages	75	75	72
Law *	7	30	40
Medecine **	9	23	31

Source: American Council on Education, 1990.
*First professional degree, including B.A.;
**M.D.

The data show that although women still constitute a small fraction of today's Bachelor holders in civil or mechanical engineering, their representation has increased dramatically when compared to that of 15 years ago. Women have also made steady progress in the fields of mathematics, law, and medicine, even though they have not yet reached parity with men. On the other hand, traditionally female dominated fields

such as education and foreign languages have evinced little change. Title IX stopped schools from sending girls to homemaking classes and boys to wood and metal shop classes. It was beyond its scope, however, to provide schools with the incentives to foster the participation of girls in nonconventional courses for women.

2.4.5 PRESENCE OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATORS

While Title IX does not contain quota provisions for the hiring of personnel, it permits educational institutions to engage in affirmative action, even in the absence of proven discrimination, if there is limited participation of women or men in a federally assisted educational institution (Dunkle and Sandler, 1974).

Some observers hold that there have been only limited affirmative action initiatives. Others believe that they have occurred to a substantial degree. Still others claim that affirmative action has served to benefit mostly white women over blacks, especially black females. The interaction between gender and race subordination is an issue of great importance and one that needs much closer examination. The statistics that are available often do not present simultaneous breakdowns by gender and race, thus preventing analysis of these issues.

Three key indicators of women's presence in important educational leadership positions are their numbers as school administrators (school districts superintendents and associate superintendents, principals), university faculty, and university presidents. Table 3 shows the gains women have made compared to men in the formal educational system as school principals and superintendents. The changes between 1972 and 1988 have been moderate among principals and, although significant shifts occurred within the superintendent and associate superintendent positions, the proportion of women in these leadership positions, particularly the superintendence --is exceedingly small: only four women of every 100 superintendents.

Table 3. Women in Administrative Positions as a Proportion of Total Employment

Positions	1972	1978	1985	1988
Women as Principals	15,0	14,0	20,4	24,0
Women as School District Superintendants	0,6	0,7	2,7	3,7[6]
Women as School Ditrict Associate Superintendents	3,0	8,0**	15,0	22,0

Source: American Association of School Administrators, 1988, pp. 21, 13, and 17. Data on superintendents are based on 39 states; they refer only to those in the public system. *Includes assistant, deputy, associate, and area superintendents. **Refers to 1980 data.

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Table 4: Women as Proportion of Full-Time University Faculty by Rank--All Institutions

Rank	72-73	78-79	79-80	82-83	85-86
Full professors	9,8	10,1	9,8	10,7	11,9
Associate prof.	16,3	19,1	19,4	22,0	24,3
Assistant prof.	23,8	33,2	33,9	36,1	38,0
Instructors	39,9	52,1	51,8	51,7	52,0
All ranks	22,3	26,1	25,9	26,9	28,0

Sources: Fact Book on Higher Education, 1972-73, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1982-83, and 1989-90.

Within universities, the gains by women have been even more modest. Table 4 shows the presence of women as university faculty members. It indicates that in a 10-year period women made more progress in the lower than higher ranks. Women constitute the majority of the instructors, but they are underrepresented in all the other categories, particularly as full professors, as women constituted by 1986 only 12% of those at that level. It is widely suspected that most female faculty members are concentrated in a few disciplines, which exclude math, science, and engineering.

Finally, Table 5 shows that the increase of women in the position of university president has been more evident in public than private institutions; this increase may be a product of the initially small number of women in public institutions in 1975. Between 1975 and 1985 women increased their representation by 3,4% in four-year colleges and by 5,5% in two-year colleges --

very small gains by any standard. By 1984, the latest available statistics, women represented a very small proportion of university presidents, about 9%.

Table 5: Frequencies and Proportion of Women Presidents by Type of Institution, 1975-87

Year	Public Institutions		Private Institutions		Women's Colleges		All Institutions	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
1975 - Total (1)	16	1,1	132	8,2	n.a.	n.a.	148	4,8
4 - yr. inst.	5	0,9	98	7,2	n.a.	n.a.	103	5,4
2 - yr. inst.	11	1,2	34	14,2	n.a.	n.a.	45	3,9
1978 - Total (1)	31	2,1	146	8,7	75	64,1	177	5,6
4 - yr. inst.	9	1,6	114	8,1	62	66,7	123	6,3
2 - yr. inst.	22	2,4	32	11,3	13	54,2	54	4,5
1982 - Total (2)	78	5,2	166	9,5	84	75,7	244	7,5
4 - yr. inst.	25	4,5	127	8,9	62	69,7	152	7,7
2 - yr. inst.	53	5,6	39	11,6	22	100,0	92	7,2
1984 - Total (2)	104	7,0	182	10,1	84	81,6	286	8,7
4 - yr. inst.	32	5,8	134	9,9	60	75,0	166	8,8
2 - yr. inst.	72	7,8	48	13,7	24	100,0	120	9,4
1987 - Total (3)	112	7,2	184	9,8	84	79,2	296	8,6
4 - yr. inst.	39	6,6	156	10,4	71	82,6	195	9,3
2 - yr. inst.	73	7,6	28	7,4	13	65,0	101	7,5

Sources: (1) The 1981-82 Fact Book for Academic Administrators. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1982, p.130.
(2) 1986-87 Fact Book on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1987, p.130.
(3) 1989-90 Fact Book on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989, p.183.

2.5 ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOMES

It is particularly difficult to assess the impact of public policies upon society. Two key problems emerge from "too many variables in the environment" and "too many variations in implementation" (Darling-Hammond, 1990). Affecting the condition of women over and beyond the existence of the sex equity legislation have been the impetus of the feminist movement, changes in the economy, and shifts in the demographic characteristics of the population. However, if some of the resources and mechanisms that were supposed to be implemented through the sex equity legislation are not in place or are reduced relative to original intentions, it can be argued that benefits from the legislation alone will be limited. The implementation of these laws have presented the following features:

- Limited and reduced funding. Under the Reagan Administration the WEEA Program's were halved and OCR's technical assistance budget of FY 1982 was less than one-tenth of the FY 1980 funding level (Brown and Reid, 1987, p. 11). This technical assistance consists of the provision of information and other services to inform beneficiaries of their rights and to facilitate the compliance of educational institutions with civil rights laws.

  Not only WEEA's budget did never reach the intended levels, but it has received microscopic amounts compared to the potential need in school districts and universities. To illustrate, in 1989, a year when federal appropriations for education totaled $9.086 billion,

WEEA received close to $3 million, or 0.03% of the federal budget.

- Insufficient enforcement mechanisms. There is wide consensus that OCR has been a poor enforcer of Title IX since inception (PEER, 1977; Califano, 1981, Gelb and Palley, 1982; Flygare, 1984; Brown and Reid, 1987, Snider, 1989). Because of its multiple charge, i.e., monitoring and responding to all kinds of discrimination (sex, age, race, physical disability), and because of its limited personnel, the OCR bureaucracy has always faced constraints in enforcing Title IX. Added to this, was the appointment as OCR heads of persons committed to the position of the Reagan and Bush administration.
- Minimal response to women's needs in education. Drafters of Title IX regulations did not affect the content of textbooks or most curricular materials. Therefore, whatever fear of sanction of losing federal funds may have been instilled through Title IX, this did not include these two crucial areas of education. And, while WEEA was to promote new materials and curriculum content, its meager funding did not permit it to reach the bulk of the 15,500 school districts and about 10,000 postsecondary institutions.
- Extremely limited funds for research on gender issues. In the past some funds were provided by NIE (the federal agency supporting educational research) and to a lesser extent by OCR. Today neither OERI (NIE's successor) nor OCR provides such funding and no other source, public or private, has filled this void (Brown and Reid, 1987, p. 14). Approximately 95% of the research funds distributed by the federal government go to 19 research centers; none of these centers focuses a significant amount of its research effort on issues dealing with gender (cf. U.S. Congress, 1988). Although the U.S. has experienced almost 20 years of sex equity

legislation, there is a dearth of research evaluating the impact of Title IX, WEEA, and other related measures.

As we look at educational institutions today, we still find a large disparity in the numbers of men and women who are school principals, associate superintendents, and superintendents. As to the presence of women in university positions, the gains are extremely low, particularly at the full professor or president level.

Why have these gains been so modest? One interpretation, often put forward by men, is that women are not interested in these positions. Another explanation is that the pool of women with the necessary skills is much smaller than that of men. Both explanations seem weak. Education is a field that attracts many women; they account for approximately 70 percent of the teachers in the U.S. and the number of women with doctorates in education, including educational administration, has been increasing. Comments by women educators who have competed for superintendency positions is that both school administrators and their boards tend to assume very conservative positions that manifest themselves in the tendency to replace men with men.

As to the low presence of women in university positions, one might surmise the data suggest that either women are not interested in becoming full professors or presidents (a questionable assumption given the increasing participation of

women in professional associations that protect their interests)[5] or that very little organizational change has occurred in university institutions to provide women with equal access to tenured positions. In this respect, it must be observed that affirmative action plans are weak instruments that merely formalize a university's awareness that it still has a skewed faculty distribution in terms of race and gender; these plans do not commit institutions to attain specific conditions within a given period of time.

The data on the participation of women students by field of study at the university level indicates substantial gains (in both absolute and relative terms) in nonconventional fields. As we have seen, significant areas of increased women's participation are law, medicine, and business administration.

Why have gains for women been greater in field of study choices than in high-level positions? One hypothesis is that younger women may have been more easily resocialized than older women. It might be that the students'choices represent the product of a new gender socialization process, deriving in part from the schools but perhaps more strongly from the social

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5 The drive toward gender equity manifested by the National Council of Research on Gender and the National Network of Women's Caucuses is a case in point. The field of education, despite the large number of women in it, has not been particularly progressive. It was not until 1974 that Phi Delta Kappa, the education honorary society, accepted women in its membership.

environment. If this is the case, we would expect these women to take their careers more seriously and to seek much greater parity with men in high-level positions, particularly as university professors and presidents. The first cohort of women "resocialized" in gender issues emerged in the late '70s and finished advanced university studies in the mid-80s. Assuming 15 years to achieve full professorial status and another 15 to be considered as presidents of universities, we should expect to see a rapid increase of women as full professors in the mid-90s and as presidents ten years after that. Two events, parallel to the legislation, that should further support the anticipated developments is the opening of a large number of university faculty positions as a result of the retirement of many professors in the next few years, and the growing presence of the feminist movement in universities, reflected in the large number of women's studies programs --estimated at approximately 500 in 1989-- and the substantial number of postsecondary courses addressing gender issues -- approximately 30.000 by 1988.

2.6 THE STATE RESPONSE TO GENDER CHALLENGES

How can we best assess the impact of educational legislation upon the condition of women? Some observers argue that social changes of this type take time because the resocialization they imply might be more effective among the younger generations.

Accepting this premise, we have indicated that the next two decades should give us a more certain picture of the accomplishments in gender equity attained through legislative efforts.

However, we cannot dismiss the fact that the current educational legislation has been characterized by very weak features in three key areas: the content of the laws, the funding levels to enable their adequate implementation, and the enforcement mechanisms to ensure that educational organizations will comply with the law. From the perspective of the inputs in place, those interested in the improvement of women's conditions have reason to suspect the federal government (the state in a more abstract sense) because its actions have not shown a strong willingness to alter the status quo in society.

In the case of the educational legislation reviewed herein, it seems that the state, being unable to reject outright the concerns of a sizable segment of the American population, passed a series of legislative measures to address gender equity in education. At the same time, it used other means to render the laws largely ineffective. This has happened by commission as well as omission.

The two pieces of educational legislation examined in this paper left untouched critical elements that could contribute to

social restructuring. They did not address the content of textbooks nor that of courses. They did not introduce new content (e.g., a gender equitable sexual education program) so that social relations may be redefined. They did not enable a large number of teachers to undergo training in gender issues: they merely opened the possibility that the few who ask for help will receive it. Finally, the legislation did not take strong action toward including more women in educational leadership positions.

The constructive aspect of the law, WEEA, relied by design on voluntary efforts. Voluntary programs are not likely to be very successful in promoting widespread change. They encourage, for the most part, only those already inclined to change, and provide limited funds for the kinds of needs to be satisfied.

The state behaviors we have seen in effect concerning the gender equity legislation in the U.S. supports the feminist theoretical perspective that sees the state not as a neutral arbiter of competing interest groups but rather an important means by which patriarchal ideology finds legitimation and acceptance. In the U.S., which has the distinction of having one of the strongest feminist movements in the world, we would expect the state to show responsiveness through legislation but also to engage in what has been aptly termed "symbolic politics", or the ability to use rhetoric and discourse in ways that significantly

exceed actual support and implementation. A current manifestation of this "symbolic" interest is reflected in the strong attention by the federal government to the low representation of women in math, science, and engineering. Two major educational programs have been created to promote these three fields: the Eisenhower Mathematics and Science Education Program and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, which provide about $260 million per year. These programs do not include any set asides for women; hence, their obligation toward sex equity is undetermined. While not all women are feminists and some men are, for the State to represent women's interest, it may have to include more women in its ranks, particularly at high levels, a view shared by many women politicians and women governmental officials (The Editors, 1979). A similar argument can be made for the increase of women in educational leadership. The literature on organizational change in schools repeatedly identifies the superintendent and the school principal as the most important actors in initiating and sustaining educational improvement. Moreover, a study of factors affecting levels of compliance with Title IX (cited by Bornstein, 1981) identified the degree of commitment, leadership, and support of the superintendent as the most cited factor in the successful implementation of Title IX. With fewer than 4 percent of all the

superintendents being female, it is rather unlikely that gender equity will become a priority in the school system agenda.

The sex-equity legislation reviewed in this chapter represents what may be called a "first-generation" set of demands --demands seeking equality, to "catch up" with men. Demands fostering the introduction of new knowledge, differential aspirations and expectations as students and employees, and the creation of transformative social visions-- a "second-generation" legislation --may be even more difficult to accomplish. Careful understanding of educational legislation, its trajectory, its acceptance and resistance by others, its areas of success and failure, are crucial to identify further the limits and possibilities of the state in the process of gender transformation in both education and society.

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3. L'ÉDUCATION DES JEUNES FILLES ET DES FEMMES AU BURKINA FASO: 1980-1990

Marlène Zébango

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Le Burkina Faso ou ancienne Haute Volta est situé dans la boucle du fleuve Niger en Afrique Occidentale et est entouré par le Mali, le Niger, le Bénin, le Togo, le Ghana et la Côte d'Ivoire. Enclave au coeur du Sahel et menacé de désertification, ce pays d'une superficie de 274.122 km^2 abrite une population de 8 millions environ dont 52% au moins sont de sexe féminin. Le pays compte près d'une soixantaine de dialectes et langues dont seulement cinq sont transcrites et peuvent être utilisés en alphabétisation. Trois religions prédominent: l'animisme, l'islam et le christianisme.

Pays presque exclusivement rural (85% de la population active travaillent dans l'agriculture et l'élevage et environ 7% pratiquent d'autres activités rurales), le Burkina produit du mil, du maïs, du riz, du sorgho comme principales cultures vivrières, de l'arachide, du sésame, du coton comme cultures de rente. L'élevage qui tient une place prépondérante dans l'économie est surtout pratiqué de façon extensive. Cette économie à prédominance rurale qui subit les aléas d'une pluviométrie déjà insuffisante en temps normal et de plus en

plus réduite depuis un certain nombre d'années, doit aussi faire face à une sérieuse émigration de la population active. En 1990 le budget du Burkina a été estimé à 102 milliards de francs CFA. Quant au PNB par tête d'habitant il est de moins de 300 dollars US.

Le sous-sol burkinabe renferme peu de ressources minières exploitées et, dans cette économie que l'on peut qualifier de subsistance, la population féminine joue un rôle de premier plan. En effet, aux tâches domestiques familiales estimées comme son domaine réservé, la population féminine burkinabe participe aux activités de production et de transformation de ces produits, bien que n'en recevant pas une juste redistribution.

Si les femmes burkinabe sont largement impliquées dans les différentes activités du secteur économique national, il n'en demeure pas moins que leur émancipation et leur promotion rencontrent de nombreuses contraintes dont les plus importantes sont d'ordre sanitaire, éducationnel et sociologique.

3.2 ENGAGEMENT NATIONAL EN FAVEUR DES JEUNES FILLES ET DES FEMMES

3.2.1 QUELQUES ÉLÉMENTS SUR LA SITUATION DE LA POPULATION FÉMININE

On l'avait déjà noté, la population féminine du Burkina représente environ 52% de la population active totale se consacrant presque exclusivement à des activités rurales. Quelles sont les principales caractéristiques de la situation socio-économique de la population féminine? Cette situation est variable selon que l'on se situe en milieu urbain ou rural.

3.2.1.1 DANS LE SECTEUR MODERNE PUBLIC

Les femmes salariées sont peu nombreuses par rapport à l'effectif masculin. On les retrouve en nombre élevé dans les catégories de cadres moyens (employées de bureau, infirmières, secrétaires, institutrices, etc.) et peu nombreuses dans les cadres supérieurs.

Le tableau ci-après donne une idée de la répartition des agents de la fonction publique burkinabe.

Tableau 1: Effectifs de la Fonction publique

Catégorie/sexe	Ensemble	Dont sexe féminin	% sexe féminin
Cadres supérieurs	3990	688	17,2
Cadres moyens	7258	1874	25,8
Agents d'exécution	17458	3741	21,4
Agents temporaires et autres	1214	202	16,6
Total	29920	6505	21,7

Ce tableau laisse apparaître la faible représentativité féminine dans le secteur moderne public. Dans ce secteur la grille de revenus des femmes salariées est comprise en moyenne entre 30.000^{F} CFA[6] et 50.000^{F} CFA.

3.2.1.2 DANS LE SECTEUR MODERNE PRIVÉ

Suite à une de ses enquêtes sur l'emploi effectuée en 1980, l'Office National de Promotion de l'Emploi (ONPE) avait trouvé que sur 16.649 employés du secteur moderne privé, 4,8% ou 810 étaient de sexe féminin. Leur nombre était plus élevé dans les sections comme les banques et affaires immobilières, les services fournis à la collectivité, le commerce ou les industries chimiques. Mais leur taux de participation est plus

6 50 ^{F} CFA = 1 F français

faible dans des sections telles que le bâtiment, les travaux publics et la plupart des autres sections industrielles.

On peut dire que dans le secteur moderne, la population féminine a une faible participation. Cette faiblesse peut s'expliquer par les effets combinés de l'éducation, de la non prise en compte dans l'organisation du travail des autres obligations familiales dévolues à la population féminine et aussi des préjugés qui veulent que certains métiers soient des domaines réservés aux hommes.

3.2.1.3 DANS LE SECTEUR NON STRUCTURÉ URBAIN

Les différentes enquêtes réalisées sur le secteur non structuré ou informel montrent que la population féminine de ce secteur, en milieu urbain, est active et productrice de biens et services et non seulement occupée à des tâches ménagères.

Selon une enquête réalisée à Ouagadougou, la capitale, en 1984, les femmes ont un rôle important dans des activités de production telles que:

- la fabrication de la bière de sorgho rouge (dolo)
- la teinturerie
- la tapisserie
- la poterie
- la restauration
- le commerce, etc.

Mais elles sont absentes dans les secteurs qui font appel à quelques co.naissances techniques ou à la force physique comme par exemple:

- la construction
- les réparations d'appareils, etc.

3.2.1.4 DANS LE SECTEUR NON STRUCTURÉ RURAL

Les principales activités de la population féminine concernent la transformation, l'artisanat et le petit commerce. Mais il faut reconnaître que les énergies des femmes sont consacrées à la production des aliments. Elles sont le principal groupe de producteurs viviers. Les activités de la population féminine en milieu rural sont nombreuses et très diversifiées. On peut dire que la population féminine est plus présente dans le milieu informel que dans le milieu moderne du travail.

Mais on peut aussi ajouter que, participant à part entière à toutes les activités de ce milieu allant de l'agriculture à la transformation des produits, elle a été pénalisée, et l'est d'ailleurs toujours, par son analphabétisme et par les préjugés socioculturels.

3.2.2 POLITIQUES NATIONALES

On peut pourtant affirmer qu'après 1960, date à laquelle le pays a accédé à la souveraineté nationale, quelques essais pour la participation des femmes au développement national avaient été entrepris. Mais ces actions touchaient un nombre infime

d'éléments féminins et n'utilisaient pas de stratégies s'incluant dans une politique de développement national. Dès cette époque certaines femmes avaient accédé à des postes de haut niveau et des éléments féminins pouvaient obtenir des emplois dans la fonction publique ou dans des fonctions libérales. Les différents gouvernements qui ont présidé aux destinées du pays depuis 1975 (année internationale de la femme) ont aussi oeuvré pour la prise en considération de la population féminine dans le processus de développement économique et social.

Il faut noter que les autorités n'étaient pas les seules à intervenir en faveur de la population féminine; y participaient aussi, les ONG, certains organismes internationaux et surtout des associations féminines nationales qui ont vu le jour grâce à la volonté de certaines femmes instruites. Trois de ces associations: l'Amitié Africaine (s'occupant spécifiquement de l'alphabétisation), l'Association des Femmes Voltaïques (se consacrant aux jardins d'enfants) et l'entraide féminine (pratiquant l'alphabétisation à long terme) s'étaient unies pour former en 1974, la Fédération des Femmes Voltaïques. L'association des Veuves et Orphelins de Haute Volta fait partie intégrante de la Fédération depuis 1979. Les actions menées par la plupart des associations ont obtenu des résultats plus sensibles en milieux urbains et semi-urbains, les zones rurales étant plus le domaine privilégié des ONG.

Il est certain que ces différents intervenants (gouvernements, ONG, associations) ont obtenu des résultats positifs et ont contribué à apporter des changements qualitatifs dans les conditions de vie de la population féminine, surtout dans sa frange la plus défavorisée. Les principaux impacts se révèlent dans les domaines tels que l'allégement des tâches domestiques (puits, forages, moulins), les changements d'habitudes (santé, éducation, alphabétisation). Mais malgré de réels effets bénéfiques, les résultats n'ont pas été à la hauteur des efforts consentis.

Trois raisons au moins peuvent expliquer cet état. La première est d'ordre politique. En réalité aucun des gouvernements qui ont précédé la période de 1983 n'avait affirmé avec une réelle conviction et concordance entre les discours et les actes, que la composante femme était partie prenante et même intégrante du développement de l'ensemble de la nation.

La deuxième raison relève d'une certaine sous-estimation des contraintes de tous ordres constituant un frein à la pleine participation des filles et femmes au développement national et cela au niveau même des décideurs et bailleurs de fonds.

- Peu d'études spécifiques des différentes situations de la population féminine.
- Formulation des projets sans la participation des bénéficiaires qui sont les femmes.

- La non prise en compte dans certains projets de certaines valeurs culturelles, etc.

La troisième raison découle du mélange des raisons précitées, qui créent un sentiment de manque de confiance et donc la non-perception, par la majorité de femmes, du poids qu'elles représentent dans l'ensemble national et, en conséquence, des rôles qu'elles sont en droit d'exiger en contrepartie.

Bien que ces raisons soient encore d'actualité, on peut quand même noter que c'est après l'avènement de la révolution démocratique et populaire du 4 août 1983 qu'une volonté plus affirmée en faveur de la population féminine s'est confirmée. Le discours d'orientation politique du 2 octobre 1983[7] avait critiqué et resitué le rôle de la population féminine. Dénonçant que les femmes en majorité étaient réduites au rang de "bêtes de somme" sous le fardeau de traditions ancestrales et donc jouant un rôle peu reconnu, le discours affirmait que désormais la population féminine sera "associée à tous les niveaux de conception, de décision et d'exécution dans l'organisation de la vie de la nation entière". Cette volonté politique en faveur de la femme se veut une condition indispensable, pour créer une mentalité nouvelle rejetant l'idée

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7 Discours essentiel ayant régi la politique du pays de 1983 à 1992: D.O.P.

de charité et exiger que la femme soit l'égale de l'homme puisqu'on lui demande la même chose.

Pour les responsables politiques, la libération de la femme ne consiste pas simplement à acquérir un diplôme mais aussi à l'associer à la construction nationale à travers laquelle elle conquerra son émancipation. Une évidente sincérité anime les autorités du pays en ce qui concerne la population féminine. Cela se perçoit à travers toutes les actions concrètes menées et en cours. L'émancipation de la population féminine fait depuis 1983, l'objet de slogans, de discours, d'articles de presse, d'émissions de radio et télévision.

Peu de personnes au Burkina refuseront de reconnaître la formidable puissance des moyens financiers et humains utilisés par les autorités du régime révolutionnaire pour battre campagne et condamner avec fermeté la pratique de l'ablation du clitoris ou excision chez les filles. Cette campagne, qui a favorisé la création et le renforcement d'un comité national de lutte contre l'excision dont les actions de sensibilisation se poursuivent à nos jours, a obtenu un impact positif certain dans les milieux intellectuels et urbains du pays.

Mais force est de reconnaître que malgré la volonté et la puissance des autorités politiques la pratique de l'excision continue surtout dans les milieux ruraux. L'excision qui, autrefois, se faisait au grand jour et donnait lieu à de grandes

festivités collectives, se pratique aujourd'hui en cachette multipliant ainsi les dangers encourus par les victimes.

Le paradoxe dans le cas de l'excision est qu'en général ce sont les femmes qui semblent défendre cette pratique, alors que les hommes semblent "s'en laver les mains", car malgré l'existence de textes judiciaires, condamnant à de lourdes peines les coupables de cet acte, on note peu de plaintes en provenance du mari ou de la famille quand l'excision est commise. Méconnaissance? Choix délibéré dû aux habitudes? Masochisme de la part des femmes? Il reste que le chemin à parcourir reste long et que la suppression totale de l'excision ne se contentera pas seulement de slogans.

Pour favoriser l'organisation de la population féminine, il a été créé en 1985 l'Union des Femmes du Burkina (U.F.B.) en tant que cadre de conscientisation et de mobilisation. Cette Union a une organisation telle qu'elle dispose d'une cellule qui participe à tous les débats de la vie nationale, dans le moindre secteur des villes et le plus petit village.

Au niveau des plans quinquennaux de développement celui de 1986-90 et celui qui sera en vigueur pour la période 1991-95, le statut de la population féminine a été valorisé.

Dans le plan 1986-90, il a été prévu entre autres:

- un appui technique pour le développement d'activités domestiques comme les jardins de case et le petit

élevage qui jouent un rôle important dans l'alimentation de la famille.

- du petit équipement devant alléger leurs tâches domestiques et libérer du temps utile pour d'autres activités: moulins à décortiquer et à moudre, puits, foyers améliorés pour l'économie du bois de chauffe.
- une scolarisation accrue des filles et l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle des femmes.
- la sensibilisation de la population féminine urbaine et rurale à la planification familiale et à l'éducation sexuelle.

Pourtant il convient de reconnaître que, malgré les efforts mis en oeuvre, l'approche participative de toutes les "forces vives" de la nation, encouragée par le plan 1986-90, ne fait pas réellement de distinction entre les sexes. Les actions qui y sont préconisées et qui ont été menées en faveur de l'élément féminin, demeurent encore aléatoires par rapport à l'étendue des problèmes touchant cet élément.

L'exécution de ce plan a permis de constater le peu d'informations relatives à la contribution féminine dans l'effort de développement. Il s'est avéré nécessaire d'avoir une meilleure connaissance de l'évolution des agissements de la population féminine sur les grands paramètres de l'économie (production, consommation, épargne, etc.) pour que les actions en leur faveur puissent être progressivement renforcées. C'est pourquoi, dans le plan de développement national 1991-95, il a été décidé l'introduction, parmi les grandes priorités, de la

composante "développement du rôle socio-économique de la femme".

Bien que la situation difficile de la population féminine s'explique pour une large part par la pauvreté générale du pays et qu'un nombre assez important des problèmes qu'elle rencontre, trouvera assurément des solutions avec l'amélioration des conditions économiques d'ensemble, une stratégie spécifique pour la population féminine sera donc adoptée dans le plan 1991-95. L'objectif fondamental de cette politique est l'augmentation de la productivité des femmes en matière de production, de transformation et de commercialisation de denrées alimentaires. On admet aussi que pour atteindre cet objectif prioritaire, d'autres objectifs "satellites" devront être menés simultanément. Il s'agit principalement de l'amélioration sensible de la santé, de la lutte contre l'analphabétisme, de l'accès aux ressources (terre, crédit) et de la lutte contre la dégradation de l'environnement. Une équipe interministérielle comprenant en outre des représentantes de l'Union des femmes du Burkina (UFB) et ayant l'appui du PNUD/UNIFEM ont sérieusement étudié cette composante devenue priorité du 2^{e} plan quinquennal 1991-95.

3.3 LE DOMAINE ÉDUCATIF

3.3.1 POLITIQUE ÉDUCATIVE

Il n'existe pas de séparation liée au sexe de l'enfant dans les textes officiels régissant le système éducatif du Burkina Faso. Il n'y a pas de politique éducative spécifique à l'égard du sexe féminin. Il faut pourtant signaler les actions menées dans l'éducation non formelle à l'endroit de la population féminine.

Dans les textes officiels, il n'existe aucune discrimination favorable ou défavorable à l'un ou l'autre sexe. C'est sur la base du constat que les filles sont moins scolarisées et abandonnent davantage, que l'autorité chargée de l'enseignement de base (primaire et de l'alphabétisation de masse) a décidé de créer au sein de l'Institut Pédagogique du Burkina (I.P.B.) en 1989, un service de promotion de la scolarisation des filles.

Ce service est chargé entre autres:

- d'identifier toutes les actions susceptibles de favoriser la scolarisation des filles;
- d'organiser des campagnes de sensibilisation visant à améliorer la scolarisation des filles et leur participation au développement.

3.3.2 ORGANISATION DU SYSTÈME ÉDUCATIF

Le système éducatif burkinabé comprend un enseignement formel et non formel.

Le système formel se compose de:

- l'enseignement préscolaire
- l'enseignement de base ou primaire
- l'enseignement secondaire général et technique
- l'enseignement normal
- l'enseignement supérieur.

Le système non formel comprend:

- l'éducation du monde rural
- l'alphabétisation

Plusieurs ministères sont impliquées dans l'organisation du système éducatif:

La tutelle de l'enseignement préscolaire revient au secrétariat d'État à l'Action sociale;

Celle de l'enseignement de base, de l'enseignement normal et de l'alphabétisation au Ministère de l'enseignement de base et de l'alphabétisation de masse.

Celle des enseignements secondaire général, technique et du supérieur, au Ministère des enseignements secondaire, supérieur et de la recherche scientifique.

La formation du monde rural relève du Ministère de l'action coopérative paysanne.

3.3.2.1 LE PRÉSCOLAIRE

Il regroupe les enfants de 3 à 6 ans. Il est dispensé dans des garderies populaires localisées plus en zones urbaines que rurales. Pour des raisons de données et du fait que l'initiative de garderies populaires est en fait récente (elle date du régime révolutionnaire), l'évolution des effectifs ne sera pas abordée dans ce texte.

3.3.2.2 LE PRIMAIRE

Il est régi par un texte assez ancien (1965) et dont un des articles stipule qu'il est obligatoire et gratuit pour les enfants de 7 à 16 ans. Mais cette obligation, pour des raisons surtout financières (manque de structures scolaires et de possibilités de recrutement des enseignants), n'est pas effective.

La durée de cet enseignement est de 6 ans. Il est dispensé dans des écoles publiques fondées et entretenues par l'État ou les collectivités et des écoles privées mises en place et entretenues par des associations privées ou des particuliers. Les écoles complètes pratiquent un recrutement annuel et celles incomplètes (3 classes en majorité), un recrutement biennal.

3.3.2.3 LE NORMAL

Il s'agit de la formation des enseignants du primaire. Autrefois assurée par 3 cours normaux dont un pour filles, cette formation, depuis 1985, est menée par une seule École nationale des enseignants du primaire (ENEP). La formation, intégrant des cours théoriques et pratiques, est d'une durée de 1 an. La capacité de formation étant assez faible par rapport aux besoins, des enseignants avec un minimum de formation pédagogique sont recrutés parallèlement depuis quelques années.

3.3.2.4 LE SECONDAIRE GÉNÉRAL ET TECHNIQUE

L'enseignement secondaire et technique comprend un premier cycle de 4 ans aboutissant au BEPC (Brevet

élémentaire du premier cycle) au C.A. (Certificat d'aptitude professionnel) et un second cycle de 3 ans sanctionné par un baccalauréat général ou technique.

3.3.2.5 LE SUPÉRIEUR

La majorité des étudiants burkinabé sont formés à l'Université de Ouagadougou et une partie dans des universités étrangères. L'Université nationale comporte 11 instituts et écoles et la durée de formation varie de 2 à 7 ans suivant les options.

3.3.2.6 L'ÉDUCATION DU MONDE RURAL

Elle occupe une grande place au niveau de l'éducation non formelle. Elle a été instituée en 1961 pour suppléer à l'insuffisance des structures formelles et former en même temps les jeunes agriculteurs. Cette éducation est dispensée dans des centres de formation de jeunes agriculteurs pour les plus jeunes (9-15 ans) et au sein de groupements villageois ou de coopératives villageoises pour les adolescents et les adultes. La formation des jeunes du monde rural est surtout une éducation pratique.

3.3.2.7 L'ALPHABÉTISATION

Elle est menée dans les langues nationales par plusieurs organismes qui sont les praticiens sur le terrain. Mais la formation des formateurs, la coordination des activités et la production de matériel didactique et pédagogique sont l'oeuvre

de l'Institut national d'alphabétisation (I.N.A.) rattaché au Ministère de l'enseignement de base et de l'alphabétisation de masse.

3.3.3 ÉVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT FORMEL

3.3.3.1 LA SCOLARISATION PRIMAIRE

En 1981, l'enseignement primaire comptait 201.367 élèves tous ordres confondus, dont 74.420 filles soit 36,9% des effectifs scolarisés. En 1990, 472.949 élèves étaient scolarisés dont 179.646 étaient de sexe féminin. Ce qui donne un taux de croissance moyen annuel de 9,9% pour l'ensemble, de 10,2% pour les seuls effectifs féminins et de 9,7% pour les effectifs des garçons.

Durant cette période il y a eu en moyenne une croissance plus rapide des effectifs féminins. En observant le tableau suivant, il apparaît que l'augmentation des effectifs des filles s'est particulièrement accrue au cours des années 1985 et 1986.

TABLEAU 2: Évolution des effectifs de l'enseignement primaire

Années/ Effectifs	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Garçons	126 947	141 301	158 183	174 968	198 180	221 960	246 116	258 654	276 559	29333
Filles	74 420	82 443	92 354	101 764	115 340	129 838	144 298	153 253	166 769	17966
Total	201 367	223 744	250 537	276 732	313 520	351 807	390 414	411 907	443 328	47299

Les années 1985 et 1986 correspondent à la mise en oeuvre d'un programme populaire de développement (PPD) défini et réalisé par les populations elles-mêmes de 1984 à 1986. L'enseignement primaire au cours du PPD s'est enrichi de 806 classes supplémentaires construites par les populations. Depuis 1981 le pourcentage de l'effectif féminin dans les effectifs globaux a présenté peu de changement. On note donc que l'écart entre les garçons et les filles est presque le même sur toute la période étudiée malgré une augmentation des effectifs féminins.

TABLEAU 3: Pourcentage de filles par rapport à l'effectif total

Années/ Effectifs	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
% Filles par rapport Effectif total	36,9	36,8	36,8	36,7	36,7	36,9	36,9	37,2	37,6	37,9

En réalité l'accroissement de l'effectif féminin n'a pas été important au point de combler la différence entre le nombre scolarisé des garçons et celui des filles. Pourtant, les populations scolarisables 7-13 ans masculine et féminine sont peu différentes. Selon les estimations de l'Institut national des statistiques et de la démographie (INSD) le tableau suivant peut être dressé:

Marlène Zébango

TABLEAU 4: Projections de la population scolarisable 7-13 ans.

Années/ Effectifs	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Garçons	701 672	728 483	752 130	778 703	806 216	834 701	864 192	894 725	926 337	959 060
Filles	617 409	639 184	661 728	685 086	709 228	734 242	760 138	786 947	814 470	843 196

La différence entre la population scolarisable des garçons et celles des filles n'est pas importante au point de justifier les écarts entre les effectifs scolarisés des garçons et ceux des filles. En 1989, le taux brut de scolarisation au niveau national était de l'ordre de 25%, celui des garçons de 30% environ et celui des filles de 20%.

3.3.3.2 L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

3.3.3.2.1 Le secondaire général

De 1980 à 1989, les effectifs de l'enseignement secondaire général public et privé ont évolué de la manière suivante.

TABLEAU 5: Évolution des effectifs

Années/ Effectifs	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Garçons	13 282	15 799	17 161	19 300	21 219	26 363	33 208	39 722	45 297	53 267
Filles	7 147	7 623	8 112	8 918	10 255	13 006	15 667	18 215	20 765	25 401
Total	20 429	23 422	25 273	28 218	31 474	39 369	48 875	57 937	66 062	78 668

Pendant cette période le taux de croissance moyen annuel est, pour l'ensemble des effectifs, de 16,1% celui des filles de 15,1% et celui des garçons de 16,6%. L'accroissement moyen des effectifs masculins est plus important que celui des filles, bien que l'effectif de ces dernières ait plus que triplé au cours de cette période. En observant le pourcentage de l'effectif féminin par rapport au total des élèves scolarisés, on obtient le tableau suivant:

TABLEAU 6: Pourcentage des filles par rapport à l'effectif total.

Années/ Effectifs	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
% Filles Total	34,9	32,5	32,0	31,6	32,5	33,0	32,0	31,4	31,4	32,2

Il apparaît aussi que dans l'enseignement secondaire général, les filles représentent moins de la moitié des effectifs. Malgré l'augmentation numérique des effectifs féminins, leur pourcentage par rapport à l'effectif des garçons n'a pas réellement changé. On observe même, une légère baisse par rapport au pourcentage qu'elles représentaient en 1980.

3.3.3.2.2 Le secondaire technique

L'évolution des effectifs de cet enseignement est assez difficile à faire dans la mesure où, dominées par les établissements privés, les statistiques obtenues étaient quelques fois difficiles à contrôler. On peut dresser le tableau suivant:

TABLEAU 7: Évolution des effectifs

Années/ Effectifs	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Garçons	1 502	2 287	2 481	2 789	2 213	1 936	2 109	2 303	2 428
Filles	820	2 138	1 509	1 994	2 020	2 277	1 340	1 921	2 187
Total	2 322	4 425	3 990	4 783	4 233	4 213	3 449	4 224	4 615

C'est dans cet enseignement que se trouvent le plus de filières vers lesquelles s'oriente le sexe féminin: couture, broderie, secrétariat. En observant la place de la population féminine dans les effectifs totaux, on obtient le tableau suivant:

TABLEAU 8: Pourcentage de filles

Années/ Effectifs	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Filles/ Total	35,3	48,3	30,2	41,6	47,7	54,0	38,8	45,4	47,3

Le pourcentage de filles est assez élevé bien que n'ayant pas une progression harmonieuse dans cet enseignement. Mais l'effectif féminin n'atteint pas dans l'ensemble la moitié des effectifs masculins.

3.3.3.3 L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR

3.3.3.3.1 Sur le territoire national

Les effectifs de l'Université de Ouagadougou, au cours de ces dernières années, ont connu une certaine évolution qui peut s'observer dans le tableau ci-après.

TABLEAU 9: Évolution des effectifs de l'Université nationale:

Années/ Effectifs	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Garçons	952	1 990	2 018	2 398	2 718	2 963	3 139	3 350	3 635	4 169
Filles	274	354	550	688	757	882	946	1 055	1 155	1 322
Total	1 226	2 344	2 568	3 086	3 475	3 845	4 085	4 405	4 790	5 491

On observe que les effectifs totaux, au cours de cette période ont eu un taux de croissance moyen annuel de 18,1% et ceux des filles de 19,1%. Par comparaison l'effectif des garçons a présenté un taux de croissance moyen légèrement inférieur (17,8%) par rapport à celui des filles pour la même période. Quel est le pourcentage de filles dans l'ensemble?

TABLEAU 10: Pourcentage de filles

%/Années	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Filles/Total	22,3	15,1	21,4	22,2	22,2	22,9	23,1	23,9	24,1	24,0

Ces pourcentages montrent que la situation de filles dans l'enseignement supérieur au niveau national n'est pas différente des autres niveaux d'enseignement. Elles sont peu nombreuses et très différemment réparties selon les filières. Les filières scientifiques telles que l'Institut National de Chimie et celui de math-physique comptent très peu d'effectifs féminins. À titre d'exemple, la représentation féminine en 1989 dans les différents instituts de l'université est la suivante:

TABLEAU 11: Effectifs par institut et école en 1989

Établissements	Effectifs Total	dont Filles	% Filles
(INSULLA)	1 053	414	39,3
(INSHUS)	1 098	275	25,2
Institut de développement rural (IDR)	206	16	7,7
Institut des sciences (ISN)	690	95	13,7
Institut de mathématique et physique (IMP)	395	22	5,5
Institut de chimie (INC)	26	4	15,3
Institut des sciences de l'éducation (INSE)	165	14	8,4
Institut universitaire de technologie (IUT)	313	134	42,8
École supérieur de Droit (ESD)	633	186	29,3
École supérieur des Sciences économiques (ESSEC)	548	87	15,8
École supérieur des Sciences de la santé (ESSSA)	374	75	20,0

L'institut universitaire de technologie (I.U.T.) possède des filières vers lesquelles les filles s'orientent généralement: secrétariat, comptabilité.

3.3.3.3.2 Hors du Burkina

Par rapport à l'Université nationale l'effectif féminin est beaucoup plus faible dans les universités étrangères. Le manque de données statistiques imputables à plusieurs années, permet une présentation des effectifs pour 1989.

3.3.3.3.3 En Afrique

Les effectifs suivants pouvaient se noter:

TABLEAU 12: Effectifs dans les universités africaines en 1969.

Effectifs Pays	Total	dont Filles	% Filles
Afrique centrale	12	0	0,0
Afrique du Nord	112	19	16,9
Bénin	123	18	14,6
Côte d'Ivoire	113	22	19,4
Ghana	1	0	0,0
Mali	37	0	0,0
Mauritanie	12	0	0,0
Niger	12	0	0,0
Sénégal	147	30	20,4
Togo	39	0	0,0

Dans ces universités, l'effectif féminin, bien que faible, est orienté surtout vers les branches suivantes: pharmacie, médecine, vétérinaire, bibliothécaire, cinéma, chirurgie dentaire, éducateurs de jeunesse, archives et documentation.

Dans les universités hors de l'Afrique, en 1989, on comptait:

TABLEAU 13: Effectifs dans les universités hors d'Afrique en 1989

Effectifs / Pays	Total	dont Filles	% Filles
France- Belgique - Cuba	328	72	21,9
URSS + Pays de l'est	518	34	6,5
RDA	7	2	28,5
Asie et autres pays asiatiques	8	1	12,5

Dans l'ensemble, le Burkina envoie peu de filles et femmes de niveau universitaire hors du territoire national. Est-ce une politique délibérée? Si une politique délibérée est pratiquée dans ce sens, elle est plus le fait de la commission d'orientation que d'une politique nationale affirmée car il n'existe officiellement aucun texte imposant aux effectifs féminins de niveau universitaire de suivre leurs études uniquement sur le territoire national et non à l'extérieur, comme les effectifs masculins, quand les conditions sont remplies.

3.3.4 ÉVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT NON FORMEL

3.3.4.1 L'ÉDUCATION DU MONDE RURAL

Dans les centres de formation des jeunes agriculteurs (CFJA) le recrutement des élèves est triennal. La campagne de formation se mène de mai à février et la sortie annuelle moyenne des effectifs est de l'ordre de 4 000 jeunes agriculteurs. La formation consiste pendant la première année en alphabétisation en langues nationales. Les deuxième et troisième années sont consacrées à une post-alphabétisation en langues nationales, une alphabétisation en français et à une formation fonctionnelle liée aux activités de jeunes des zones où sont situés les centres.

Les effectifs des centres ont évolué de la manière suivante:

TABLEAU 14: Évolution des effectifs des CEJA

Années/ Effectifs	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Garçons	13 875	10 638	15 195	13 430	12 315	12 968	9 904	9 525
Filles	1 359	930	1 790	1 755	1 846	2 551	2 125	2 079
Total	15 234	11 568	16 985	15 185	14 161	15 519	12 029	11 604

TABLEAU 15: Évolution du pourcentage de l'effectif féminin

Années/ Effectifs	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Filles/Total	8,9	8,0	10,5	11,5	13,0	16,4	17,6	17,9

De 1983 à 1990, la participation de la population féminine à ce type de formation s'est accrue, bien qu'elle soit encore faible par rapport à la participation de la population masculine.

Créée à l'origine pour pallier les insuffisances du système éducatif traditionnel, la formation des jeunes agriculteurs est aujourd'hui le partenaire indispensable du système éducatif formel pour la lutte contre la rechute dans l'analphabétisme des exclus de ce système et surtout dans le combat mené pour l'autosuffisance alimentaire. Malgré une réorganisation de cette forme d'éducation, d'importants problèmes demeurent. Ces problèmes, qui varient de l'organisation de la société rurale du Burkina à ceux d'ordre financier, expliquent pour beaucoup les déperditions assez importantes qui se rencontrent dans cette formation (22% en moyenne). Ces déperditions sont plus sensibles du côté des effectifs féminins.

3.3.4.2. L'ALPHABÉTISATION

Pour des raisons multiples, une série chronologique des effectifs alphabétisés n'a pas pu être obtenue mais des actions concrètes effectuées en faveur des femmes peuvent être citées. En 1986 l'opération alphabétisation a permis de toucher 4 506 auditrices. En 1989-1990 lors de formations intensives 8 619 femmes ont été inscrites, 7 443 évaluées et 3 396 déclarées alphabétisées. Des opérations de remise à niveau sont effectuées depuis 1989. Outre les formations ponctuelles, il existe une formation étalée qui en 1989-90 a vu l'inscription de 3

959 femmes dont 1 029 ont été déclarées après évaluation comme alphabétisées.

Les méthodes utilisées en alphabétisation doivent permettre, par la mise en place d'une presse écrite rurale, d'éviter le retour à l'analphabétisme. De même, il est prévu l'utilisation des éléments alphabétisés comme encadreurs lors de nouvelles formations.

3.4 PRINCIPALES CONTRAINTES À L'ÉDUCATION DES JEUNES FILLES ET FEMMES ET SOLUTIONS ÉVENTUELLES

3.4.1 PRINCIPALES CONTRAINTES

Une très intéressante étude réalisée par l'IPD-AOS en 1989 sur la scolarisation des filles dans le système éducatif du Burkina, cite trois sortes d'obstacles à cette scolarisation d'ordre principalement culturel et historique, matériel et financier et parfois comportemental et psychologique.

3.4.1.1 CULTURELLES ET PSYCHOLOGIQUES

Certains d'entre eux portent sur:

- L'initiation, qui permet à l'enfant selon la coutume d'accéder à la vie d'adulte, se pratique dans de nombreuses provinces en pleine année scolaire. Ces cérémonies, dont la durée est variable, exigent le retrait de l'enfant de l'école et ce sont les filles qui, à l'issu de ces cérémonies, restent les plus pénalisées en ce qui concerne la reprise des cours.

- Le mariage précoce, ou du moins, les promesses de mariage faites souvent par les familles dès la naissance de la fille. On a noté que, dans ces cas, les prétendants découragent les filles dans la poursuite de leurs études. Ils ont d'ailleurs souvent pour complices les mères de leurs fiancées, ces dernières les encourageant implicitement à rester à la maison.
- Les structures scolaires sont quelques fois implantées dans des lieux considérés, par les populations, comme sacrés, interdits à la population féminine. Les filles ne peuvent les fréquenter qu'après certains sacrifices jugés onéreux par les parents.
- Les échecs scolaires plus élevés du côté des filles que des garçons font apparaître le système scolaire comme peu rentable pour elles aux yeux des parents. Pourtant aucune évaluation n'a encore été faite, prouvant que les acquis scolaires des filles sont inférieurs à ceux des garçons.
- La scolarisation représente dans certains milieux, le facteur favorable de "perdition" pour la fille. Les filles inscrites dans le système scolaire réussissent peu pour diverses raisons et refusent souvent de respecter la coutume[8] après avoir quitté l'école.

3.4.1.2 FINANCIÈRES ET MATÉRIELLES

Ils concernent autant les familles que l'État qui ne peut pas toujours faire face aux besoins en établissements scolaires et surtout en formation des formateurs. Dans le milieu urbain, malgré les efforts de construction entrepris par les autorités, l'insuffisance des structures scolaires a exigé le développement

8 Elles refusent le plus fréquemment le prétendant choisi par la famille.

d'écoles privées payantes. Les frais[9] de scolarité, bien que faibles par rapport à ceux pratiqués dans certains pays de la sous-région, demeurent élevés par rapport au revenu de la majorité de la population.

En zone rurale où les écoles privées sont moins nombreuses, outre les contraintes culturelles plus vivaces, se posent des problèmes de cotisations de réunions de parents d'élèves et surtout de "priorisation" des besoins. Pour les populations rurales l'école vient souvent après l'eau, la santé et l'autosuffisance alimentaire. Le rôle de l'école comme un des facteurs de base du développement n'est pas entièrement perçu dans un contexte national où existent des diplômés chômeurs refusant de surcroît habituellement de retourner aux travaux agricoles et pastoraux.

Ainsi donc, que cela soit en milieu urbain ou rural, des choix se font dans les familles entre la scolarisation des garçons ou des filles. Ces dernières sont rarement prioritaires. Ajoutons aussi la conception habituelle qui veut que la fille soit celle qui doit aider sa mère dans toutes les tâches domestiques: corvée de bois, d'eau, de cuisine, de petit commerce, de culture et de garde des bébés. La fille scolarisée cumule ces tâches aux activités scolaires et donc consacre en réalité peu de temps aux

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9 Frais de scolarité par enfant: de 12.000F à 7 000F CFA au primaire; de 37 000F à 47 000F CFA au secondaire.

études. Ces obstacles sont les mêmes dans l'éducation formelle et non formelle.

Mais dans cette dernière on peut relever aussi[10]:

- l'inadaptation des programmes aux besoins des filles.
- l'insuffisance et même l'absence d'équipement des CFJA en matériel de formation aux activités féminines.
- le manque de motivation, d'esprit d'initiative des formateurs.
- les tâches domestiques
- les préjugés des maris
- l'âge trop avancé de certaines auditrices dans l'alphabétisation.

3.4.2 SOLUTIONS ÉVENTUELLES

Des actions peuvent être préconisées pour apporter des améliorations à l'éducation des jeunes files et femmes.

- Sensibilisation des parents sur la nécessité de scolariser, d'alphabétiser la population féminine, ces actions étant des facteurs de développement de la famille et de la société en général.
- Abolition du mariage forcé.
- Rendre effective la scolarisation obligatoire des enfants de 6 et 7 ans et surtout ne pas les exclure du système avant qu'ils n'atteignent un seuil de 4 ans dans le cycle normal (ce qui correspond au cours élémentaire deuxième année au Burkina). Ce seuil est jugé dans les instances internationales comme niveau limite de l'analphabétisme.

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10 Mémoire de fin de cycle des élèves FJA Promotion 1983 de Corgo Z Rosalie: "Incidences du statut social de la jeune fille en milieu rural sur le recrutement et la participation au niveau des CFJA".

- Supprimer le système de recrutement biennal dans les zones rurales. Cela équivaut à la normalisation de nombreuses écoles à 3 classes qui sont obligées pour couvrir les 6 années de l'enseignement primaire, de recruter tous les 2 ans. Les filles sont, dans ces cas, les plus pénalisées car les élèves n'ont pratiquement pas la possibilité de redoubler dans la même école. Les parents préfèrent alors que leurs garçons poursuivent leurs cours dans d'autres écoles plutôt que leurs filles.
- Revoir les programmes de formation dans les centres de jeunes agriculteurs tant en ce qui concerne la formation des formateurs eux-mêmes que dans la participation effective des communautés villageoises pour ce qui est de la définition des programmes des centres.
- Prendre en compte les contraintes ménagères de la population féminine dans le cadre de l'alphabétisation et mettre en place un programme national fonctionnel de longue durée avec des étapes de recyclage pour les jeunes filles et femmes.

3.5 CONCLUSION

La situation générale de la jeune fille et femmes burkinabe a évolué qualitativement. Des efforts ont été faits et sont encore en cours, pour permettre à la population féminine de participer pleinement au développement national. Ces efforts ne sont pas seulement nationaux, mais proviennent aussi d'organismes non gouvernementaux (ONG) et internationaux et d'associations nationales. L'éducation et la formation, considérées par les autorités nationales comme principaux

facteurs de l'émancipation de la population féminine, détiennent près de 25% du budget national.

Ainsi, et bien qu'il n'existe officiellement aucune discrimination entre sexes dans les textes régissant la vie administrative et le système éducatif burkinabe, le constat réel est que la population féminine est sous-représentée dans tous les domaines. Si certaines des contraintes qui expliquent la situation de la femme burkinabe ont été cernées, il en reste de nombreuses autres plus subtiles et dont la mise en évidence ne pourra se faire qu'à travers des études spécifiques aux différentes régions et ethnies (on en décompte près de 60) du Burkina.

Il semble que les causes d'inégalités et de discrimination en matière d'éducation trouvent leurs sources et leurs justifications dans les traditions et les cultures. Mais accorder aux traditions et aux cultures tant de responsabilité dans le problème de l'éducation de la population féminine, n'est-ce pas de manière inconsciente, faire preuve de démission quand on sait que les changements de mentalités exigent un temps assez long? N'est-ce pas aussi sous-estimer et négliger les effets positifs de la scolarisation féminine sur la société? Il existe sûrement, parallèlement aux politiques à long terme visant les changements de certaines traditions, des politiques à court terme pouvant apporter une certaine modification dans la situation actuelle. S'il ressort que des études spécifiques

régionales et même ethniques sont nécessaires pour une meilleure compréhension du problème de la non-scolarisation de la population féminine, il n'en demeure pas moins que d'autres études et recherches peuvent être actuellement menées sous un angle différent que celui du seul accès aux systèmes formel et non-formel.

Posséder des informations sur les différenciations possibles des acquisitions entre filles et garçons et cela, dans les matières de base des programmes scolaires, étudier ces programmes pour mieux appréhender leurs aspects exclusivement "masculins" qui peuvent peut-être favoriser la répulsion ou le découragement des filles, étudier les méthodes de notation, les techniques de transmission des connaissances de l'enseignement à l'élève, surtout à l'élève de sexe féminin, voilà quelques aspects qui touchent la rétention des élèves dans les systèmes et dont certains résultats peuvent peut-être permettre des changements ou des inflexions de politiques éducatives à travers des actions rapides visant une amélioration de la rétention de la population féminine dans les systèmes d'éducation.

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4. POLITIQUES ÉDUCATIVES ET DROITS DES FEMMES AU CANADA

Claudine Baudoux

La situation des Canadiennes en éducation a beaucoup évolué au cours des dernières années, et les renseignements dont nous disposons nous permettent d'être relativement optimiste dans la mesure où les mouvements féministes canadiens garderont leur vigueur actuelle. Nous présenterons dans un premier temps l'écheveau très compliqué que constituent les systèmes[12] d'éducation canadiens ainsi qu'une esquisse des mouvements féministes canadiens. Par la suite, nous tracerons l'évolution des Canadiennes au cours des seize dernières années en éducation. Nous parlerons également de la situation des professeures d'université et de leur accessibilité aux postes de direction. Enfin, un portrait du niveau d'instruction général au Canada nous permettra d'évaluer les résultats de la scolarisation des Canadiennes.

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12 qui sont encore plus compliqués que nous pourrons le dire ici, avec les divisions basées sur la langue et sur la religion.

4.1 LES INSTITUTIONS ET LE CADRE LÉGISLATIF

Avant 1982, la constitution canadienne se trouvait à Londres. Elle fut rapatriée au Canada en 1982 suite à un accord nocturne conclu entre le premier ministre du Canada et les premiers ministres des provinces. Toutefois, le premier ministre du Québec, la seule province en majorité francophone n'y fut pas invité. Le législateur canadien enchâssa dans cette nouvelle constitution une charte des droits et libertés qui "oublia" le droit des femmes à l'égalité. Grâce aux efforts du puissant mouvement féministe canadien, sur lequel nous reviendrons, la clause de l'égalité des sexes y fut ajoutée quelques jours plus tard.

Ce principe d'égalité des sexes s'applique à toutes les provinces, y compris au Québec qui n'a pas signé la constitution. De toute façon, le Québec a, depuis 1975, sa propre "charte des droits et libertés de la personne" qui assure l'égalité des sexes. Toutefois, et paradoxalement, l'article canadien sur l'égalité des sexes a presque exclusivement été utilisé par des hommes devant la Cour suprême du Canada. Suite à une de ces démarches masculines, les programmes d'accès à l'égalité ont été jugés discriminatoires.

En 1984, le rapport de la commission Abella (1984) créée par le gouvernement fédéral, démontre l'insuffisance des mesures

volontaires pour contrer l'étendue et la persistance de la discrimination systémique (ou indirecte). Suite à ce rapport, la constitution canadienne affirme depuis 1985 par son article 15 de la charte des droits et libertés du Canada que les programmes d'accès à l'égalité ne sont pas discriminatoires. Les tribunaux sont habilités à ordonner l'adoption, pour les groupes défavorisés, de mesures d'accès à l'égalité. Toutefois, les provinces peuvent utiliser dans ce cas la clause dérogatoire qui les exempte de l'obligation d'appliquer cet article de la charte inscrit dans la constitution. Plusieurs provinces, comme nous le verrons, ont élaboré leurs propres lois dans ce domaine. Autre suite du Rapport Abella: le gouvernement fédéral se dote d'un programme de contrats fédéraux. Par cette loi, les universités canadiennes qui ont plus de 100 employés et qui veulent obtenir du gouvernement des contrats de 200.000 dollars et plus (ce qui est peu si l'on considère les montants obtenus pour la recherche), doivent implanter un programme d'accès à l'égalité. Cette loi n'est pas toujours respectée car la moitié des universités canadiennes ne s'y sont pas encore conformées.

Rappelons que, même si le Canada se désigne parfois comme la "confédération canadienne", en réalité, ce pays constitue plutôt une fédération où les pouvoirs des provinces sont très importants. Le système d'éducation canadien est très

décentralisé. Chaque province exerce une juridiction exclusive en cette matière[13], même si le gouvernement fédéral finance en partie les provinces pour l'enseignement postsecondaire. À l'intérieur des provinces, chaque district ou commission scolaire jouit d'une certaine marge de manoeuvre à l'intérieur d'une réglementation provinciale. Cette décentralisation a pour effet positif de permettre nombre de changements qui servent de modèles dans d'autres districts ou établissements éducatifs, mais a comme inconvénient qu'entre les principes affirmés et la pratique, il existe parfois certaines distorsions. Toutes les provinces mènent des efforts à divers degrés pour contrer le sexisme en éducation (Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation du Canada, 1987). La situation des femmes en éducation, qui varie beaucoup d'une province à l'autre, s'améliore au fil du temps. Ce sont, globalement et à l'heure actuelle, les provinces de l'Ontario et du Québec qui sont les plus avancées en matière de droits des femmes. Mais la situation peut évoluer plus ou moins selon la volonté politique des gouvernements.

En ce qui concerne les lois relevant du domaine de l'éducation, on peut constater que, dès 1977, toutes les provinces canadiennes disposent de législations qui interdisent la

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13 À quelques exceptions près comme les autochtones, les prisonniers des prisons fédérales, etc.

discrimination. Elles s'inspirent fortement du Civil Rights américain de 1964. Toutes les provinces, sauf la Colombie Britannique, ont, depuis 1987, des législations autorisant les programmes d'accès à l'égalité. L'Ontario est la seule province qui a imposé des programmes d'accès à l'égalité dans le domaine de l'Éducation (en 1989). Les autres provinces hésitent à imposer ces programmes aux instances locales. Le Québec évalue des expériences pilotes de programmes d'accès à l'égalité menées à tous les ordres du système d'éducation mais les résistances locales, en particulier au primaire et au secondaire, sont parfois très grandes. Ces programmes concernent pour le moment les personnels oeuvrant dans le système d'éducation, mais des mesures équivalentes devraient être prises pour les étudiantes.

En ce qui concerne les **politiques** en matière de droits des femmes en éducation, seules deux provinces, le Québec et la Nouvelle-Écosse, ont adopté une politique globale en la matière. La plupart des provinces ont établi une politique d'équité en emploi. Quatre provinces ont mis sur pied un Conseil du Statut de la femme, composé de féministes représentantes du milieu, chargé de conseiller la ministre de la condition féminine. Mais la plupart des provinces ont au moins, dans leurs ministères de l'Éducation respectifs, un bureau de la condition féminine. Trois provinces ont élaboré une politique sur le

harcèlement sexuel, et quatre sur la protection des abus sexuels contre les enfants. Trois provinces ont une politique sur la formation et le perfectionnement des enseignants en matière de sexisme. La moitié d'entre elles disposent d'une politique sur l'élimination du sexisme dans la langue. D'autres ont adopté une politique concernant la représentation équitable des femmes à des comités et conseils. Cinq provinces ont une politique d'accès des femmes à l'éducation.

Pour ce qui est des **plans d'action** provinciaux, en matière de programmes scolaires, la situation est assez floue. Est-ce que les programmes présentés à tous les ordres du système d'éducation offrent un portrait réaliste des rôle joués par les femmes et de leur participation à la société passée et contemporaine? La réponse est malheureusement souvent négative, quand ce ne serait que parce que le peu de professeures présentes dans les universités a pour conséquence que les recherches en ce domaine sont encore trop peu nombreuses, et que cette absence relative se traduit dans les programmes éducatifs. Plusieurs provinces ont pris toutefois des mesures pour mettre en relief la contribution des femmes dans les programmes d'études, dans la mesure où elle est connue. Six provinces ont produit des documents pour sensibiliser le personnel enseignant, quatre fournissent de

l'information sur les conditions sociales faites aux femmes et sur la contribution de ces dernières à la société.

C'est dans le domaine de l'élimination du sexisme dans les manuels, le matériel d'apprentissage, les programmes et les documents d'appui que le succès est le plus grand, puisque toutes les provinces ont entrepris des actions dans ce domaine. Toutes les provinces disposent en effet de lignes directrices pour le choix des manuels scolaires et ont mis sur pied des grilles d'analyse pour éliminer les stéréotypes sexuels. Toutes les provinces ont mis sur pied des programmes de désexisation destinés aux parents (brochures, messages ou programmes télévisés, réunions ou participation à des événements publics). Certaines ont créé des instruments de soutien pour le personnel enseignant, une liste de manuels approuvés, un inventaire des instruments de désexisation existants, de l'information aux maisons d'édition et l'élimination du sexisme dans la langue. À ce dernier sujet, le Québec fait figure de leader dans le monde francophone. Non seulement, la féminisation des titres et des fonctions est bien intégrée dans la vie quotidienne, mais des publications basées sur les travaux de l'Office de la Langue Française ont été produites pour féminiser la syntaxe de cette langue. Il reste bien sûr quelques résistances, mais rien de comparable à celles qui existent en Europe.

Mais c'est au niveau de la formation des enseignantes et enseignants, pourtant si cruciale, que la situation est la plus déficiente. Il existe très peu de cours obligatoires sur les conditions sociales faites aux femmes dans les programmes de formation des enseignantes et enseignants. Il n'existe souvent à ce sujet dans ces programmes universitaires[14] que des cours facultatifs, voire pas de cours du tout, en particulier dans les universités où la proportion de professeures est la moins élevée. Seul, le Nouveau-Brunswick contraint ses universités à présenter un contenu sur le sexisme dans ses cours obligatoires offerts à la clientèle étudiante. Dans la majorité des cas, ce sont les fédérations et les associations syndicales du personnel enseignant qui ont pris l'initiative du perfectionnement professionnel de leurs membres et de la lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste et sexuel.

En matière d'avenir professionnel, cinq provinces offrent au secondaire des cours de choix de carrière. Quatre provinces encouragent la vigilance des conseillers pédagogiques et des membres de comités d'élaboration de programmes. Il faut signaler toutefois qu'il existe peu d'efforts pour évaluer systématiquement les pratiques des personnes qui conseillent les jeunes filles en matière d'orientation (quatre provinces).

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14 Tout le personnel enseignant est formé à l'université.

Des efforts ont été entrepris pour promouvoir une planification réaliste de la carrière des filles, y compris par l'organisation de colloques et de conférences. Trois provinces ont une politique de jumelage entre femmes de carrière et étudiantes. Mais beaucoup de ces mesures restent facultatives. Presque toutes les provinces ont établi des plans d'action obligatoires ou incitatifs pour favoriser la formation des filles aux métiers non traditionnels. Il existe une multitude de documents pour les élèves destinés à encourager les femmes aux nouvelles technologies et à choisir des métiers traditionnellement réservés aux hommes. Trois provinces imposent aux deux sexes des cours en économie familiale et en initiation à la technologie. Sept provinces ont posé des gestes pour accroître la participation féminine aux activités parascolaires. Cinq provinces ont une politique sur l'égalité d'accès aux cours, les autres prennent des mesures pour faciliter un accès équitable à tous les cours. Dans la plupart des provinces, les arts industriels et les sciences familiales sont accessibles aux deux sexes, et, selon les politiques de chaque province, les sciences et les mathématiques sont obligatoires (deux provinces) ou optionnelles. Dans les provinces où ces cours sont optionnels, un programme destiné à encourager les filles à choisir ces matières, ainsi que les cours de technologie, est en voie d'implantation.

L'éducation permanente a été également sensible en partie aux préoccupations des femmes. Huit provinces ont facilité le retour des femmes aux études. Toutes les provinces ont des politiques d'alphabétisation et de rattrapage qui sont souvent plus nécessaires aux femmes. Beaucoup d'institutions, dans six provinces, offrent des formations à distance à tous les ordres du système éducatif (cours par correspondance, téléconférences, cours télévisés, enseignement assisté par ordinateur). La majorité des provinces offrent des services de garderies dans les institutions postsecondaires. Deux provinces ont voté des politiques financières destinées spécialement à certaines catégories de femmes. Les territoires du Nord-Ouest ont mis sur pied des centres communautaires d'éducation des adultes qui fournissent aux femmes des services éducatifs dans leur milieu et qui leur permettent de suivre des cours à distance donnés par des institutions accréditées. Certaines universités de cinq provinces reconnaissent parfois l'expérience de vie dans leurs politiques d'admission à l'université. Quelques institutions post-secondaires offrent des programmes destinés aux femmes adultes afin de lever leurs appréhensions et de faciliter leur entrée ou leur retour aux études ou sur le marché du travail. Toutes les provinces offrent des cours de langue aux immigrantes. Beaucoup d'universités offrent des programmes d'études féministes ou sur les femmes, en plus de nombreux

cours, séminaires, vidéos et conférences à orientation féministe[15]. Notons que le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada subventionne des recherches sur la thématique "Femmes et travail", devenu depuis deux ans "les femmes et le changement".

4.2 LE MOUVEMENT FÉMINISTE

Le mouvement féministe canadien reste extrêmement dynamique, bien implanté dans toutes les provinces canadiennes, et singulièrement au Québec (Secrétariat d'État, 1989). En 1988-89, le Secrétariat d'État du Canada a subventionné 44 associations féministes qui travaillent au niveau canadien dans son ensemble, 26 à Terre-Neuve, 26 en Nouvelle-Écosse, 29 au Nouveau-Brunswick, 19 à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, 130 au Québec, 72 en Ontario, 57 au Manitoba, 35 en Saskatchewan, 72 en Alberta, et 78 en Colombie-Britannique et Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Mais le gouvernement conservateur a aussi subventionné pour la première fois la même année le "Real Women of Canada". Même s'il s'agit d'une subvention minime, il n'en reste pas

15 À titre d'exemple, au Québec, un deuxième recensement fait par l'Université Laval en 1990 des cours et séminaires féministes indique qu'il en existe au moins 250 aux trois cycles universitaires. Il y a, d'une année à l'autre, augmentation de ces cours.

moins qu'une association qui s'oppose aux droits des femmes a obtenu une reconnaissance gouvernementale.

Certaines de ces associations de femmes comportent un nombre élevé de membres en règle (Institut canadien de recherches sur les femmes, 1989) et ont par conséquent un poids politique important, telles le Comité National d'Action sur le Statut de la Femme (plus de 4 millions de membres), le Conseil national des femmes du Canada (750.000 membres), le YWCA du Canada (400.000 membres), ou la Federated Women's Institutes of Canada (40.000 membres). Certaines de ces associations ne sont surtout présentes qu'au Québec: par exemple, la Fédération des Femmes du Québec (70.000 membres), ou l'Association Féminine d'Éducation et d'Action Sociale (30.000 membres). Les bureaux de condition féminine des syndicats sont également très actifs: le bureau de la femme du Congrès du travail du Canada (900.000 membres féminines), la Fédération Canadienne des Enseignants (220.000 membres en tout, dont une majorité de femmes), et au Québec, la Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (40.000 membres féminines). Cette liste exclut d'autres associations à membership moins élevé ou dont les objectifs concernent des domaines plus limités, mais qui n'en sont pas moins actives ni efficaces.

C'est le pragmatisme qui caractérise le plus le mouvement féministe canadien. Les électrices, tant au niveau fédéral qu'à celui des provinces, veillent à ce que soient élues des féministes notoires dans tous les partis. Même si tous les partis ne sont pas également ouverts aux revendications des femmes, cette pratique fait en sorte que les femmes ne sont pas prisonnières d'un seul parti politique et qu'elles ne subissent pas (trop) le contrecoup de défaites électorales. Le vote des femmes ne favorise pas automatiquement un parti bien défini, mais se base plutôt sur les réalisations antérieures ou sur les programmes. Un fait va illustrer la force des mouvements féministes canadiens. Lors des deux dernières élections fédérales, les trois chefs de parti ont dû défendre leurs politiques en matière de droits des femmes durant une heure à la télévision, à une période de haute écoute, interrogés par des représentantes de groupes de femmes ou de journalistes. Or, il n'existe que deux émissions qui confrontent les chefs de parti: une sur des questions dites d'intérêt général, et une autre de même durée pour les femmes. Toutefois, au cours de la campagne électorale de 1993, les partis libéral et progressiste-conservateur ont refusé de participer à ce type de débat, alors que le Bloc québécois (BQ) et le nouveau parti démocratique (NPD), tous deux plus progressistes, ont accepté.

4.3 ÉVOLUTION DES TAUX DE PARTICIPATION FÉMININE EN ÉDUCATION

Quelle est la situation présente des Canadiennes par rapport à celle qui prévalait en 70-71 (Statistique Canada, 1990; 1983; 1973)? Pour ce faire, nous axerons notre analyse s'étalant de 1970-71 à 1987-88 autour de cinq aspects cruciaux. Nous examinerons: a) l'évolution des effectifs féminins dans les études postsecondaires, c'est-à-dire dans les divers cycles universitaires et dans les divers programmes offerts par les collèges communautaires; b) si des filières féminines spécifiques se maintiennent durant cette période; c) l'ampleur du phénomène des études postsecondaires à temps partiel, souvent reliée aux conditions sociales faites aux femmes; d) la proportion des professeures d'université selon l'importance du rang; et e) le niveau global d'instruction de la population canadienne selon le sexe.

4.3.1 ÉVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS ET DES DIPLÔMES FÉMININS À L'UNIVERSITÉ

De 1971 à 1987-88, on peut constater globalement que les Canadiennes ont fait des progrès beaucoup plus significatifs que ceux des Canadiens en ce qui concerne leur accès aux ordres supérieurs d'enseignement, mais il reste encore des

progrès à accomplir au niveau des deuxième et troisième cycles universitaires.

Un des résultats les plus tangibles des politiques d'égalité des chances au Canada a été l'augmentation du nombre de femmes inscrites à l'université. Le tableau 1 indique qu'au cours de la période étudiée, le nombre total de femmes fréquentant l'université a plus que doublé, alors qu'il n'a grimpé que de 23% chez les Canadiens. De minoritaires (37%), les Canadiennes sont devenues majoritaires à l'université, constituant 54% de ses effectifs. Au premier cycle, les Canadiennes sont passées de 39% en 70-71 à 55% en 87-88. Si les femmes sont encore sous-représentées aux 2^{e} et 3^{e} cycles (44% des effectifs étudiants), elles ont presque quadruplé leurs effectifs pour la période concernée. Est-ce que ces résultats sont dus à l'importance des études à temps partiel pour les femmes?

Tableau 1: Effectifs universitaires selon le cycle et le sexe[1]

Années	1er cycle			2e et 3e cycle			Total
	Femmes	Hommes	% femmes	Femmes	Hommes	% femmes	% femmes total
1970-71	161 675	256 828	38,6 %	10 819	36 723	22,8 %	37,0 %
1974-75	206 912	248 048	45,5 %	17 370	44 905	27,9 %	43,4 %
1978-79	256 005	257 226	49,9 %	24 474	46 629	34,4 %	48,0 %
1982-83	317 353	291 914	52,1 %	32 987	50 515	39,5 %	50,6 %
1987-88	378 084	307 358	55,2 %	41 934	53 190	44.1 %	53,8 %

1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Cet accroissement fulgurant est dû en partie au grand nombre de femmes qui étudient à temps partiel (tableau 2). Le nombre de Canadiennes qui étudient à temps partiel au premier cycle a presque triplé, tandis que celui des Canadiens n'a augmenté que de 16%. Les femmes constituent maintenant 63% des effectifs universitaires qui mènent des études à temps partiel. Quant aux études à temps plein, les femmes y sont légèrement plus nombreuses que les hommes en 87-88. L'écart entre le taux de scolarisation des Canadiennes et des Canadiens s'est considérablement rétréci: les femmes constituent 50% des effectifs qui étudient à temps partiel et 41% de ceux qui étudient à temps plein. Cette différence peut s'expliquer par le fait qu'à l'âge de mener des études supérieures, les femmes restent incitées socialement au mariage et à la maternité. De là, l'importance de comparer les effectifs universitaires selon le groupe d'âge.

Tableau 2: Effectifs féminins à temps plein et à temps partiel selon le cycle [1]

Années	% Femmes au 1er cycle		% Femmes au 2e et 3e cycle	
	Temps plein	Temps partiel	Temps plein	Temps partiel
1970 - 71	36,7 %	42,4 %	22,3 %	23,7 %
1974 - 75	41,1 %	54,7 %	27,3 %	28,8 %
1978 - 79	45,0 %	58,5 %	33,2 %	36,1 %
1982 - 83	46,8 %	60,6 %	37,8 %	42,3 %
1987 - 88	50,3 %	63,2 %	40,6 %	49,6 %

1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

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Années	% Femmes au 1er cycle		% Femmes au 2e et 3e cycle	
	Temps plein	Temps partiel	Temps plein	Temps partiel
1970 - 71	36,7 %	42,4 %	22,3 %	23,7 %
1974 - 75	41,1 %	54,7 %	27,3 %	28,8 %
1978 - 79	45,0 %	58,5 %	33,2 %	36,1 %
1982 - 83	46,8 %	60,6 %	37,6 %	42,3 %
1987 - 88	50,3 %	63,2 %	40,6 %	49,6 %

1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Depuis 1972-73, date à partir de laquelle le Canada dispose de ce type de données, la proportion de femmes des premier, deuxième et troisième cycles universitaires s'est accrue pour tous les groupes d'âge, aussi bien dans les études à temps plein et à temps partiel (tableau 3). Si les taux d'inscription sont plus élevés chez les femmes plus jeunes, il faut noter toutefois que la proportion des femmes fréquentant l'université s'est accrue plus rapidement dans les groupes d'âge plus âgés que chez lesmoins de 18 ans. Ces données indiquent ainsi un rétrécissement de l'écart entre les taux relatifs de scolarisation des jeunes femmes et des femmes plus âgées. Il montre aussi bien l'efficacité des programmes de l'éducation aux adultes (qui sont un instrument de compensation pour les injustices passées) que l'évolution des structures familiales au Canada. Il reste à vérifier comment se situent les femmes par rapport aux hommes en ce qui concerne le régime d'études (temps plein ou temps partiel) aux différents cycles.

Tableau 3. Effectifs universitaires féminins selon le cycle et le groupe d'âge[1]

Années	1 er cycle						2e et 3e cycle			
	Plein temps			Temps partiel			Plein temps		Temps partiel	
	Moins de 18 ans	de 18 à 24 ans	25 ans et plus	Moins de 18 ans	de 18 à 24 ans	25 ans et plus	de 18 à 24 ans	25 ans et plus	de 18 à 24 ans	25 ans et plus
1972 - 73	48,1 %	39,7 %	29,5 %	60,5 %	55,8 %	53,4 %	31,4 %	22,1 %	33,9 %	24,5 %
1974 - 75	51,8 %	41,9 %	34,2 %	58,0 %	56,4 %	56,4 %	32,9 %	24,5 %	37,8 %	25,9 %
1978 - 79	53,7 %	45,4 %	41,2 %	57,6 %	55,6 %	60,3 %	37,8 %	31,6 %	45,9 %	35,6 %
1982 - 83	52,3 %	47,1 %	44,5 %	64,1 %	56,1 %	62,0 %	41,8 %	36,5 %	43,2 %	42,2 %
1986 - 87	56,0 %	49,9 %	47,6 %	63,6 %	56,9 %	63,9 %	43,6 %	39,5 %	47,1 %	47,8 %

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées. Les pourcentages du tableau 3 se rapportent au total des effectifs universitaires.

Au premier cycle, le taux d'inscription à temps partiel est plus élevé chez les Canadiennes que chez les Canadiens dans tous les groupes d'âge (tableau 4). Cet écart s'est même élargi. En 1986-87, les femmes représentent 64% de l'effectif à temps partiel chez les 25 ans et plus. Ce phénomène est d'autant plus important que les étudiants et les étudiantes appartenant à ce groupe d'âge constituent 75% de l'effectif étudiant à temps partiel du premier cycle. Aux deuxième et troisième cycles, la proportion des Canadiennes inscrites à temps partiel a progressé de telle sorte qu'en 1986-87 le taux d'inscription des femmes est presque égal à celui des hommes des groupes d'âge correspondants. Les résultats du tableau 4 indiquent également une augmentation rapide du taux de scolarisation des femmes. Le pourcentage des Canadiennes inscrites à temps plein au premier cycle est passé de 13% en 70-71 à 28% en 87-88, alors que celui des Canadiens est passé de 22 à 27% durant la même période. La différence entre le taux de scolarisation à temps plein des hommes et des femmes s'est réalisée au profit des femmes. Quant aux études à temps partiel au premier cycle, les femmes dépassent en pourcentage les effectifs masculins. Aux deuxième et troisième cycles, les taux de scolarisation des hommes dépassent ceux des femmes, mais les Canadiennes gagnent du terrain pour les études à temps plein et ont presque égalé les hommes à temps partiel.

Claudine Baudoux

Tableau 4 Effectifs universitaires inscrits à temps plein et à temps partiel selon le cycle et le sexe[1]

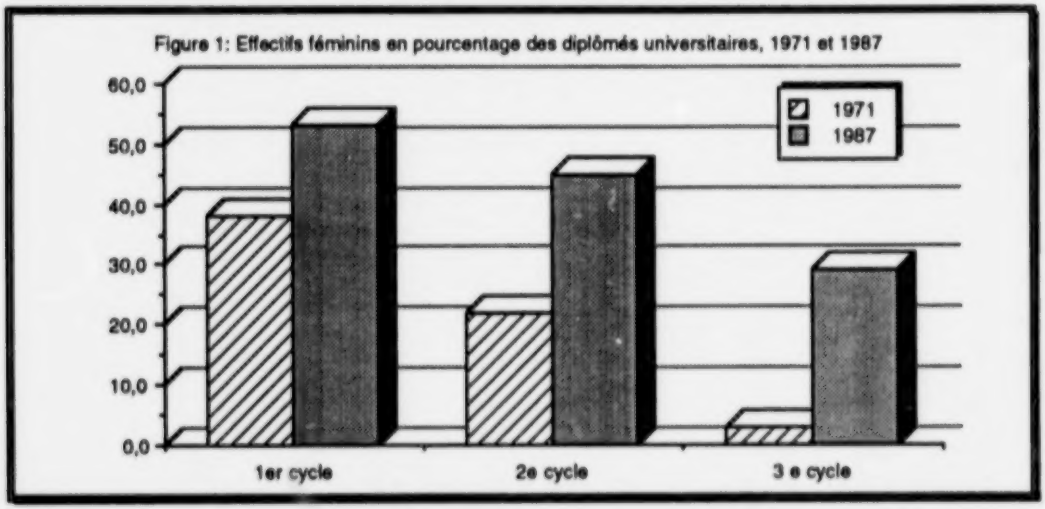
Années	1 er cycle				2e et 3e cycle			
	Plein temps		Temps partiel		Plein temps		Temps partiel	
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes
1970 - 71	13,0 %	22,2 %	3,0 %	4,0 %	1,4 %	4,9 %	0,2 %	0,5 %
1974 - 75	14,9 %	21,0 %	3,5 %	2,8 %	1,8 %	4,7 %	0,3 %	0,8 %
1978 -79	16,0 %	19,2 %	4,1 %	2,9 %	2,1 %	4,2 %	0,4 %	0,7 %
1982 - 83	18,7 %	20,6 %	4,6 %	3,0 %	2,7 %	4,4 %	0,5 %	0,6 %
1987 - 88	27,9 %	26,6 %	4,9 %	2,9 %	3,4 %	5,0 %	0,5 %	0,6 %

1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées. Les pourcentages du tableau 4 se rapportent aux totaux des groupes d'âge.

Au terme de cet examen comparatif, il reste à saisir l'évolution des Canadiennes en ce qui concerne les diplômes et les domaines d'études.

En 1987 (voir figure 1), les Canadiennes ont obtenu 53% des diplômes de premier cycle universitaire, 45% des maîtrises et 29% des doctorats, comparativement à 38%, 22% et 9% en 1971. Existe-t-il des filières de formation spécifiques pour les Canadiennes?

Figure 1: Pourcentage de diplômées universitaires (1971 et 1987)[1]



1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Les Canadiennes continuent, comme l'indique le tableau 5, à être concentrées dans des filières qui leur sont traditionnellement proposées, comme l'éducation, les beaux-arts et les arts appliqués, les humanités, les sciences infirmières et certaines sciences sociales comme la psychologie, la sociologie et le service social. Il existe tout de même une diminution de la concentration féminine dans ces domaines de spécialisation. Les Canadiennes ont pu prendre une certaine place dans des domaines traditionnellement dominés par les hommes. Elles sont majoritaires à présent dans les sciences agricoles et biologiques. Elles sont passées en commerce de 6% à 44%, en droit de 9% à 47% et en médecine de 13% à 42%. La situation est-elle comparable au deuxième cycle?

Au niveau de la maîtrise, jusqu'à tout récemment, les hommes prédominaient dans tous les programmes d'études, sauf en beaux-arts et en arts appliqués (voir tableau 6). À l'heure actuelle, en plus de ces deux domaines, plus de Canadiennes que de Canadiens ont obtenu des maîtrises dans des filières traditionnelles comme en éducation, en humanités, en médecine et sciences de la santé. Mais elles ont également augmenté leur proportion en droit et en commerce (de 9% à 39% et de 1% à 30%). Qu'en est-il aux études de troisième cycle?

Tableau 5: Répartition en pourcentage des diplômes de premier cycle décernés selon le domaine d'études et le sexe (1971 et 1987)[1]

Domaines d'études	1971		1987	
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes
Éducation	31,9 %	17,5 %	20,7 %	10,0 %
Beaux-Arts et Arts Appliqués	2,5 %	1,3 %	3,7 %	2,4 %
Humanités	16,3 %	11,2 %	12,6 %	8,5 %
Sciences Sociales	16,7 %	29,2 %	34,6 %	36,3 %
-Commerce	*0,8 %*	*7,8 %*	*9,7 %*	*14, 0%*
-Économique	*0,5 %*	*3,9 %*	*2,4 %*	*5,7 %*
-Droit	*0,7 %*	*4,3 %*	*2,7 %*	*3,5 %*
Sc. agricoles et biologiques	4,8 %	4,5 %	6,6 %	5,7 %
Génie et Sc. Appliquées	0,2 %	10,5 %	1,9 %	15,6 %
Médecine et Sc Santé	7,2 %	4,7 %	8,9 %	4,3 %
-Arts dentaires	*0,1 %*	*0,9 %*	*0,3 %*	*0,7 %*
-Médecine	*0,6 %*	*2,4 %*	*1,4 %*	*2,2 %*
-Sciences infirmières	*4,8 %*	*0,1 %*	*4,4 %*	*0,2 %*
Mathématiques et Physique	3,0 %	7,5 %	4,0 %	11,3 %
Informatique	*0,3 %*	*0,7 %*	*1,4 %*	*4,6 %*
Aucune spécialisation	17,5 %	13,6 %	7,1 %	5,9 %

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, totalisations spéciales mises à jour.

TABLEAU 6: Répartition en pourcentage des maîtrises décernées selon le domaine d'études et le sexe[1]

Domaines d'études	1971		1987	
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes
Éducation	18,7 %	13,8 %	26,4 %	13,6 %
Beaux Arts et Arts Appliqués	2,1 %	0,5 %	2,4 %	1,5 %
Humanités	35,1 %	17, 0%	17, 0%	10,4 %
Sciences sociales	29,4 %	33,5 %	34,8 %	40,1 %
-Commerce	*0,7 %*	*13,6 %*	*11,3 %*	*21,8 %*
-Économique	*1,2 %*	*4,0 %*	*1,8 %*	*3,4 %*
-Droit	*0,1 %*	*0,4 %*	*0,6 %*	*0,7 %*
Sc. agricoles et biologiques	5,8 %	5,9 %	4,9 %	4,8 %
Génie et Sc.. Appliquées	0,6 %	15,6 %	2,4 %	16,0 %
Médecine et Sc. Santé	4,0 %	2,3 %	8,2 %	3,5 %
Mathématiques et Physique	4,4 %	11,4 %	3,7 %	10,1 %
-Informatique	*0,6 %*	*1,6 %*	*1,0 %*	*2,9 %*
Total[2]	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, totalisations spéciales mises à jour

2 Comprend la catégorie "Aucune Spécialisation"

Tableau 7: Répartition en pourcentage des doctorats décernés selon le domaine d'études et le sexe[1]

Domaines d'études	1971		1987	
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes
Éducation	3,3 %	4,9 %	18,9 %	6,9 %
Beaux Arts et Arts Appliqués	0,1 %	0,3 %	1,0 %	0,5 %
Humanités	25,2 %	9,7 %	16,9 %	10,6 %
Sciences sociales	25,2 %	12,9 %	27,0 %	16,6 %
-Commerce	*ND*[2]	*0,3 %*	*2,6 %*	*1,4 %*
-Économique	*1,3 %*	*1,6 %*	*1,8 %*	*2,0 %*
-Droit	*1,3 %*	*0,9 %*	*0,6 %*	*0,5 %*
Sc. agricoles et biologiques	16, 6%	17,7 %	14,1 %	14,5 %
Génie et Sc. Appliquées	ND	15,9 %	2,4 %	16,6%
Médecine et Sc. Santé	6,0 %	5,7 %	10,6 %	9,6 %
Mathématiques et Physique	23,2 %	33,0 %	9,1 %	24,4 5
Total[3]	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**	**100,0 %**

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, totalisations spéciales mises à jour

2 ND: non disponible.

3 Comprend la catégorie "Aucune Spécialisation"

Le nombre de Canadiennes détentrices d'un doctorat augmente sans cesse. Il a quadruplé depuis 1971, alors qu'il n'a augmenté que de 15% chez les Canadiens. La proportion de femmes a augmenté dans tous les domaines d'études de doctorat. Elles sont majoritaires en éducation (52% contre 7% en 1971). Suivent de peu les doctorats en beaux-arts et arts appliqués (47% des doctorats), ainsi que ceux en commerce (44% des doctorats).

À tous les cycles, il y a peu de Canadiennes en génie et sciences appliquées, en mathématiques et sciences physiques. Mais leur présence s'accentue aux trois cycles depuis 1970-71, malgré de fortes résistances dont la plus violente s'est déroulée le 6 décembre 1989 à l'École Polytechnique de l'Université de Montréal où un jeune homme a sélectionné et assassiné quatorze étudiantes parce qu'elles se destinaient à être ingénieures.

Tableau 8: Effectifs à temps plein des collèges communautaires selon le sexe[1]

Années	Effectifs	Taux d'inscription	
	% Femmes	Femmes	Hommes
1970-71	46, 9 %	10, 0 %	10, 6 %
1974-75	49, 0 %	12, 1 %	12, 4 %
1978-79	50, 5 %	13, 7 %	13, 2 %
1982-83	51, 6 %	16, 0 %	14, 9 %
1987-88	53, 2 %	22, 1 %	18, 7 %

1 D'après: L'éducation au Canada, Statistique Canada, N° 81-229 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Le nombre de Canadiennes détentrices d'un doctorat augmente sans cesse. Il a quadruplé depuis 1971, alors qu'il n'a augmenté que de 15% chez les Canadiens. La proportion de femmes a augmenté dans tous les domaines d'études de doctorat. Elles sont majoritaires en éducation (52% contre 7% en 1971). Suivent de peu les doctorats en beaux-arts et arts appliqués (47% des doctorats), ainsi que ceux en commerce (44% des doctorats).

4.3.2 ÉVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS ET DES DIPLÔMES FÉMININS DANS LES COLLÈGES COMMUNAUTAIRES

Des tendances semblables à celles qui sont présentes à l'université existent en ce qui concerne les effectifs et les diplômes des collèges communautaires. Les tableaux 8, 9 et 10 vont illustrer ce propos.

Pour ce qui est des effectifs, on constate (tableau 8) qu'en 1970-71, plus de Canadiens que de Canadiennes étudiaient à temps plein dans des collèges communautaires, alors que par la suite, le nombre des étudiantes a augmenté plus rapidement pour dépasser celui des hommes (53% en 86-87). Les taux d'inscription, (calculés en pourcentage de la population canadienne âgée de 18 à 21 ans) reflètent les mêmes tendances. Ils sont passés, pour la période étudiée, de 10 à 22% chez les femmes, et de 11% à 19% chez les hommes. Quel est le régime d'études emprunté par les femmes comparativement à celui des hommes?

En ce qui concerne les programmes qui conduisent à l'université, les Canadiennes constituent en 87-88 52% des effectifs au lieu de 45% en 76-77 (tableau 9). Au cours de la même période, les proportions relatives de femmes et d'hommes inscrits dans des programmes terminaux conduisant au

marché du travail sont demeurées relativement stables: 53% des effectifs sont féminins en 76-77 et 54% en 87-88. Le nombre d'inscriptions féminines aux programmes menant sur le marché du travail s'est accru de près de 50% en dix ans. Les études à temps partiel sont un fait féminin dans une proportion de 60% de l'effectif. Existe-t-il dans les collèges communautaires des filières de formation propres aux femmes?

Comme à l'université, la majorité des Canadiennes ont obtenu leur diplôme collégial dans des domaines qui leur ont été traditionnellement proposés, même si ce pourcentage a légèrement diminué (tableau 10). Par exemple, de 1976 à 1986, le pourcentage de femmes diplômées en sciences de la santé, en sciences et en services sociaux ainsi qu'en secrétariat est descendu de 75% à 60%. Le phénomène est particulièrement élevé dans le domaine des sciences infirmières (de 32% à 19%). Parallèlement, le pourcentage des femmes qui obtiennent un diplôme dans des domaines traditionnellement réservés aux hommes augmente. Dans les affaires et le commerce, à l'exclusion du secrétariat, le pourcentage de fem es diplômées est passé entre 1976 et 1986 de 22,5% à 32% alors que celui des hommes stagne (20,4% et 21%). Dans les autres domaines, les progrès des Canadiennes sont plus réduits: de 3,6% à 7% dans le secteur technique, et de 2,3%% à 3% dans le domaine des sciences naturelles et de l'industrie primaire.

Tableau 9: Effectifs à temps plein et à temps partiel des collèges communautaires selon le programme et selon le sexe[1]

Années	Programmes de passage à l'université		Programmes menant au marché du travail	
	% femmes temps plein	% femmes temps partiel	% femmes temps plein	% femmes temps partiel
1976 - 77	44,6 %		53,4 %	
1980 - 81	47,4 %		52,6 %	
1983 - 84	48,8 %	60,3 %	52,0 %	56,6 %
1987 - 88	51,9 %	61,6 %	53,8 %	61, 2 %

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Tableau 10: Répartition en pourcentage des diplômes des collèges communautaires selon le domaine d'études et le sexe (1976 et 1986)[1]

Domaines d'études	1976		1986	
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes
Arts et Sciences	0,3 %	0,2 %	0,5 %	0,3 %
Beaux Arts et Arts Appliqués	6,3 %	7,9 %	7,8 %	7,5 %
Sciences Humaines	2,0 %	0,7 %	1,8 %	0,8 %
Sciences de la Santé	44,4 %	6,3 %	29,0 %	6,1 %
-Sciences infirmières	*33,4 %*	*1,9 %*	*19,4 %*	*2,0 %*
-Sc.sociales et Services sociaux	17,8 %	9,3 %	18,5 %	9,5 %
-Services pédagogiques	*6,2 %*	*1,5 %*	*5,4 %*	*0,6 %*
Affaires et Commerce	22,5 %	20,4%	32,0 %	21,0 %
-Secrétariat	*12,8 %*	*0,1 %*	*11,8 %*	*0,2 %*
Techniques	3,6 %	43,2 %	7,0 %	46,1 %
-Math et Info	*1,7 %*	*3,6 %*	*3,9 %*	*9,1 %*
-Techniques de génie	*0,9 %*	*23,2 %*	*1,6 %*	*19,4 %*
-Sc. nat. et industries primaires	2,3 %	11,1 %	3,0 %	8,4 %
Autres	0,6 %	1,0 %	0,2 %	0,4 %

1 D'après: Collèges communautaires et établissements analogues: effectifs et diplômés postsecondaires, Statistique Canada, N° 81-222 au catalogue, et Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

4.3.3 LES PROFESSEURES ET CADRES FÉMININES DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS

Nous avons choisi de présenter les données sur les professeures et les cadres féminines des universités, d'une part, parce que la présence de chercheuses remet en question l'androcentrisme des disciplines, et que d'autre part, des recherches (Cloutier, 1989) ont prouvé qu'une présence accrue de gestionnaires féminines à l'université a pour effet de diminuer la discrimination indirecte faite aux femmes.

Tableau 11: Proportion des professeures à temps plein des universités selon l'importance du rang[1]

Rang professoral	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
Professeure titulaire				
Total	3,4 %	4,1 %	4,9 %	6,1 %
Direction sup.	3,0 %	4,0 %	4,9 %	6,4 %
Professeure agrégée				
Total	8,1 %	10,0 %	12,7 %	15,7 %
Direction sup.		10,4 %	10,9 %	15,0 %
Professeure adjointe				
Total	13,8 %	18,6 %	24,1 %	28,9 %
Direction sup.		15,6 %	20,1 %	30,6 %
Chargée de cours				
Total	28,9 %	31,3 %	39,4 %	44,5 %
Direction sup.		19,0 %	20,8 %	31,8 %
Rang suivant				
Total	32,6 %	48,8 %	51,8 %	51,7 %
Direction sup.		50,0 %	66,7 %	20,0 %
Autres				
Total	14,3 %	24,0 %	29,1 %	30,6 %
Direction sup.		8,8 %	10,1 %	29,6 %
Total				
Total	**12,8 %**	**14,0 %**	**15,5 %**	**17,0 %**
Direction sup.	**3,0 %**	**7,4 %**	**8,8 %**	**11,2 %**

1 D'après: Division de l'éducation, de la culture et du tourisme, Statistique Canada, données non publiées.

Traditionnellement, le personnel enseignant et le personnel de direction des universités a été à prédominance masculine, sinon exclusivement masculin. Même si le nombre total des Canadiennes occupant des postes de professeurs titulaires a pratiquement doublé de 1970-71 à 1985-86, elles ne représentent que 17% du personnel enseignant des universités en 85-86, contre 13% en 70-71 (tableau 11). Le pourcentage de femmes diminue en fonction de l'importance du rang. En 85-86, les femmes occupent 45% des postes de chargés de cours, mais seulement 6% des postes de titulaires à temps plein. Les professeures sont sous-représentées au sein des professeurs exerçant des fonctions de direction supérieure.

4.3.4 NIVEAU D'INSTRUCTION DE LA POPULATION CANADIENNE

Est-ce que la présence accrue des Canadiennes dans les établissements d'études postsecondaires a amélioré sensiblement le niveau global d'instruction des Canadiennes? Les données du tableau 12 permettent de répondre par l'affirmative. Toutefois, le pourcentage des femmes qui détiennent un diplôme universitaire est encore légèrement inférieur à celui des hommes. La majorité de la population canadienne (67% des femmes et 65% des hommes) n'ont fait que des études secondaires ou moins. En 1988, 10% des femmes âgées de 15 ans et plus étaient diplômées universitaires par

rapport à 3% en 1971. Chez les hommes, les pourcentages correspondants sont de 14% et de 6%.

Tableau 12: Niveau d'instruction de la population de 15 ans et plus selon le sexe[1]

Niveau d'instruction	1971	1976	1978	1981	1983	1988
Moins de la 9e année						
Femmes	32,2 %	24,9 %	23,7 %	21,9 %	20,5 %	17,2 %
Hommes	34,8 %	26,3 %	24,9 %	23,0 %	21,4 %	17,8 %
Études secondaires						
Femmes	51,2 %	50,5 %	51,9 %	53,1 %	51,7 %	49,3 %
Hommes	45,6 %	45,7 %	47,9 %	49,3 %	48,4 %	47,4 %
Certaines études postsec.						
Femmes	6,7 %	8,2 %	7,9 %	7,5 %	8,3 %	9,4 %
Hommes	8,4 %	10,0 %	9,0 %	8,3 %	9,0 %	9,5 %
Diplôme études postsec.						
Femmes	7,1 %	11,4 %	11,0 %	11,1 %	11,9 %	14,1 %
Hommes	5,0 %	8,8 %	8,8 %	9,0 %	9,9 %	11,7 %
Diplôme universitaire						
Femmes	2,9 %	5,0 %	5,5 %	6,5 %	7,7 %	10,0 %
Hommes	6,2 %	9,2 %	9,5 %	10,5 %	11,3 %	13,6 %
Total						
Femmes	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**
Hommes	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**

1 D'après: Enquête sur la population active, Statistique Canada, données non publiées, et Picot, G., L'évolution du profil scolaire des canadiens de 1961 à 2000, Statistique Canada, mars 1980.

4.4 LES PROGRÈS RÉALISÉS ET EN VOIE DE LE DEVENIR

Il a été démontré dans diverses études que les politiques d'égalité des chances et de démocratisation mises en oeuvre il y a vingt ans ont eu des effets importants sur la scolarisation des Canadiennes, même s'ils n'étaient pas toujours prévus ni même explicitement souhaités par les législateurs. On peut même dire que c'est la catégorie sociale qui a le plus profité de politiques de démocratisation telles que la création d'institutions postsecondaires dans des régions éloignées des grandes villes, les cours télévisés, et surtout le formidable développement d'une éducation aux adultes parfaitement intégrée dans la plupart des universités aux formations initiales.

L'introduction de la mixité, mis à part le fait qu'il n'existe plus de programmes "allégés" pour les femmes, ne s'est guère réalisée qu'au profit des garçons. La neutralisation des contenus scolaires (donc en pratique sa masculinisation) fait ressentir aux filles leur étrangeté par rapport à la culture dominante et le peu d'intérêt de leurs propres expériences. Vu l'absence de formation obligatoire du futur personnel enseignant à ce sujet, il est à craindre que des pratiques discriminatoires vis-à-vis des filles, souvent non intentionnelles, ne continuent de se maintenir. Dans le même

ordre d'idées, le manque de sensibilisation des conseillers en orientation aux problèmes particuliers qui sont faits aux filles risque de faire en sorte que bon nombre de beaux prospectus restent sur les étagères.

On peut supposer que dans quelques années le rattrapage des Canadiennes sera terminé, du moins en ce qui concerne le niveau des diplômes. Il reste toutefois l'épineux problème du maintien des ghettos que constituent certaines formations. Au rythme où les changements s'opèrent, il y aurait peu d'espoir de voir poindre une égalité d'accès de notre vivant sans que soient prises des mesures énergiques de redressement.

Deux types de mesure concurrentes obtenues après des luttes épiques menées par les féministes, (en particulier contre le patronat) semblent, au cours des années les plus récentes, s'attaquer de front à ce problème: les programmes d'accès à l'égalité, et les politiques d'équité salariale. Les premiers imposent des mesures de redressement exclusivement au profit des femmes. Ces mesures de redressement sont rédigées en fonction d'objectifs chiffrés destinés à établir à plus ou moins brève échéance selon le cas, après une étude des bassins de disponibilité du personnel, l'égalité numérique entre hommes et femmes dans les secteurs non-traditionnels, y compris dans les filières scolaires, et dans les sphères de responsabilités.

Quant aux politiques d'équité salariale qui commencent à figurer parmi les priorités des syndicat, elles visent à rehausser les salaires dans les emplois traditionnellement féminins. À cet effet, de nouveaux critères comparatifs entre hommes et femmes sont élaborés, tenant compte de la pertinence des qualités "féminines" requises pour exercer certains emplois.

La conjugaison de ces deux politiques devrait permettre de pallier de nombreux problèmes vécus par les femmes dans le secteur de l'éducation qui reste intimement relié à celui du travail. Toutefois, les résistances restent fortes dans divers milieux. C'est pourquoi les mouvements féministes canadiens devront rester vigilants, continuer à lutter aux niveaux local, provincial et national, et surveiller l'application et la progression de ces dossiers fondamentaux pour l'avenir des Canadiennes.

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5. LES POLITIQUES NATIONALES CONCERNANT LA FORMATION DES FEMMES: LE CAS DE LA FRANCE

Marlaine Cacouault et Claude Zaidman

La politique de formation des femmes ne peut s'analyser qu'en relation avec d'autres politiques, politique scolaire, sociale, de l'emploi. Mais la façon dont ces politiques jouent spécifiquement pour les femmes dépend de la structure des rapports de sexe caractérisée par la place socialement accordée aux femmes et à leurs pratiques sociales.

5.1 DÉBATS SUR L'ÉDUCATION DES FILLES ET POLITIQUE SCOLAIRE

Il est frappant de constater que le seul moment où un débat national sur l'éducation des filles a véritablement eu lieu, c'est, après une longue période de désintérêt de l'État pour cette éducation laissée au soin de l'Église, lors de la création de l'enseignement secondaire féminin, dans la deuxième moitié du 19e siècle. La loi Camille Sée, proposée par un député républicain dont elle porte le nom, est votée à la Chambre le 21 décembre 1881. Elle prévoit l'organisation du nouvel enseignement sous tous ses aspects: programmes scolaires et cursus, attributions des directrices de lycées et collèges féminins, recrutement des professeurs femmes imposé par le

refus de la mixité. Ces règlements vont perdurer pendant 40 ans si l'on excepte quelques retouches sans incidences sur la structure d'ensemble (Mayeur, 1977).

Les programmes sont allégés par rapport à ceux des lycées de garçons, surtout dans le domaine des sciences "mathématiques, physiques et naturelles". Les humanités modernes, c'est-à-dire l'étude de textes littéraires français et d'oeuvres traduites (littérature grecque et latine, morceaux choisis des classiques anglais ou allemands...) jouent un rôle central dans la formation dispensée aux élèves filles. Les langues vivantes ne sont pas oubliées mais l'apprentissage du latin ne figure pas dans le cursus alors qu'il fait partie des compétences requises pour se présenter au baccalauréat. Ces dispositions, déjà contestées par certains parents qui offraient à leur filles des cours particuliers, sont modifiées en 1924. Le Décret Léon Bérard institue la préparation du "bac" et les humanités classiques sont introduites dans les lycées de filles même si elles ne revêtent pas un caractère obligatoire. Pour former les enseignantes on crée l'École Normale de Sèvres où les élèves accèdent par concours; la scolarité est gratuite, mais l'internat obligatoire. Bien entendu le professorat est réservé dans l'esprit du législateur et de ses électeurs bourgeois à celles qui se trouvent dans l'obligation de gagner leur vie. Le corps enseignant des lycées de jeunes filles conserve longtemps des dimensions modestes (2.000 femmes en 1931); cependant le

désir d'utiliser ces connaissances dans un espace public et de bénéficier d'un salaire ne cessera de s'affirmer au fil des générations (Cacouault, 1984).

Cet enseignement destiné aux jeunes filles de bonne famille se veut un enseignement spécifique adapté à la position sociale des femmes définie par leur rôle d'épouse et de mère; il ne doit pas mener à une carrière ou à une profession. Mais la demande sociale des femmes de la petite et moyenne bourgeoisie devance puis détourne l'action institutionnelle de l'État: les jeunes filles passent le brevet destiné à recruter des enseignantes du primaire, parallèlement au "diplôme" des lycées des jeunes filles, sanction des études secondaires, qui ne mène vers aucun débouché professionnel.

Par ailleurs, on peut faire un parallèle entre les débats et les réponses des femmes et l'ouverture de l'enseignement secondaire des garçons à de nouvelles couches sociales. La création de l'enseignement "moderne" pour les garçons est contemporaine de celle de l'enseignement féminin et y ressemble par l'exclusion des langues anciennes. On constate l'autonomie du débat sur la scolarité féminine, ici directement relié à des discours sur le rôle social des femmes, et en même temps une proximité de fait avec des mesures concernant la politique scolaire "en général", c'est-à-dire au masculin.

En suivant ces deux pistes, travail des femmes et politique scolaire, on voit se dessiner les changements fondamentaux qui vont remodeler la structure des institutions scolaires et l'accès des femmes à ces institutions. À l'issue de la première guerre mondiale, les femmes s'affirment dans l'emploi salarié et revendiquent plus massivement leur droit au travail. Sur le plan pédagogique, l'idée d'unification du système scolaire progresse. On assiste à la mise en oeuvre de mesures liées à des logiques différentes mais qui ont un même sens fondamental de rapprochement entre les différents ordres d'enseignement, tels l'identification de l'enseignement secondaire des filles et des garçons en 1924, la gratuité et le droit légal d'accès pour tous -par examen- à l'enseignement secondaire en 1930.

C'est seulement la deuxième moitié du 20^{e} siècle qui verra la mise en place progressive d'un système d'enseignement formellement unifié avec la prolongation de l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à 16 ans et l'ouverture du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire à tous les enfants. Néanmoins des paliers d'orientation subsistent qui révèlent les processus de sélection sociale en oeuvre derrière l'égalité formelle. Ainsi la part des bacheliers dans une génération est de 9,7% en 1959, et de 29,4% en 1985 dont 9,6% de titulaire du bac "technique" créé en 1969.

Ce progrès constant vers l'égalité d'accès à l'enseignement va culminer avec la ratification par la France de la Convention des Nations-Unies de 1960 (décret de 1961 "Lutte contre la discrimination dans le domaine de l'enseignement"). Toutefois en ce qui concerne les rapports de sexe, un point fondamental reste en suspens, c'est celui de la mixité: une série de mesures à partir de 1957 établissent progressivement la mixité jusqu'à la loi de 1975 qui la rend obligatoire. Elle ne sera effective dans les Écoles Normales Supérieures qu'en 1987.

Pour les acteurs de l'Éducation Nationale, comme pour les sociologues d'ailleurs, le problème de la différence des sexes dans l'Éducation Nationale n'existe donc plus. Même si dans les faits, comme on le verra, on est loin d'une égalité réelle des chances, les progrès de la scolarisation des filles vont achever de clore le débat. Dès 1968, les bachelières l'emportent en nombre sur les bacheliers et les étudiantes sur les étudiants à partir de 1975. On se désintéresse d'un problème réglé par le droit d'accès. Le problème de l'école sera au centre de grandes interrogations et polémiques dans les années 60-70, mais elles porteront exclusivement sur la problématique de l'échec scolaire à partir d'une constatation de base: l'égalité des chances d'accès ne signifie pas égalité des chances de réussite scolaire. Mais ce débat se déroulera exclusivement dans le

cadre des problématiques en termes de classes sociales, les rapports de sexe étant exclus de la réflexion (Kandel, 1975).

5.2 UNE POLITIQUE POUR LES FEMMES?

Une deuxième étape dans l'histoire de la politique de formation concernant les femmes apparaît avec une nouvelle problématique sociale: au 19e siècle les femmes posent problème à la société parce que, "naturellement" différentes, elles prétendent accéder aux mêmes droits que les hommes. Au 20e siècle, elles sont reconnues formellement égales dans leurs droits; en revanche la réalisation sociale de l'égalité des sexes interpelle les pouvoirs publics au travers de la politique de l'emploi et de la politique sociale. L'intérêt pour l'éducation et la formation des femmes va resurgir mais cette fois à partir des problèmes de l'emploi. Le point de départ, c'est la transformation du rapport des femmes à l'emploi qui s'amorce dans les années 60 et se confirme dans les années 70 (activité continue-salarisation). À partir du moment où les comportements des femmes se rapprochent de ceux des hommes -disparition du cycle d'activité spécifique des femmes-, les différences du traitement social, les discriminations, les inégalités peuvent se mesurer en termes d'accès à l'emploi, de type d'emploi occupé, de rémunération, de mobilité de carrière, etc. D'où la définition prioritaire d'une politique d'État concernant l'égalité professionnelle. On est alors, il faut le

rappeler, en période de plein emploi et certains secteurs ont besoin de main d'oeuvre féminine.

À partir de 1965 vont se créer des institutions spécifiques d'abord consultatives, puis dotées de pouvoirs d'intervention qui vont définir une politique d'intervention publique concernant l'égalité professionnelle entre hommes et femmes dans une perspective d'égalité des sexes[16]. Mais la notion d'égalité reste floue et sa signification varie selon les positions politiques amenant des modes d'intervention différents. On retrouve ici les grands débats sur l'égalité des chances devant l'éducation des années 60 (Husen, 1972). En ce qui concerne

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16 Les principales étapes de cette forme de réponse institutionnelle sont les suivantes:

1965 Comité d'étude et de liaison des problème de travail féminin,

1970 Centre d'information pour les femmes auprès du Secrétariat d'État auprès du Premier Ministre

1971 Comité du Travail Féminin

1972 Centre d'Information Féminin

1974 Secrétariat d'État à la Condition Féminine

1976 Délégation à la Condition Féminine

1978 Secrétariat d'État auprès du Ministère du travail et de la Participation chargé de l'emploi féminin,
Ministère délégué auprès du Premier Ministre chargé de la Condition Féminine et
Comité Interministériel à l'Action pour les Femmes.

1981 Ministère délégué auprès du Premier Ministre chargé des Droits de la Femme.

1982 Comité Interministériel chargé des Droits de la Femme et Centre National d'Information des Droits de la Femme.

1983 Conseil Supérieur de l'Égalité Professionnelle.

1984 Mission pour l'Égalité Professionnelle.

1985 Ministère des Droits de la Femme.

l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, le problème se double de l'analyse de la place des femmes dans la société. On peut distinguer par exemple avec Martine Lévy, l'accent porté sur l'égalité des droits (identité des droits au sens juridique) ou sur l'égalité de traitement "qui tient compte des discriminations indirectes, c'est-à-dire des inégalités produites par l'attribution de droits identiques à des personnes en situations différentes ou inégales" (Lévy, 1988). Entre les secrétariats et les délégations "à la condition féminine" et les secrétariats ou ministères des "droits de la femme", le changement de vocabulaire indique une volonté de différencier la conception libérale de l'égalité en général, ici celle entre hommes et femmes, d'une analyse socialiste influencée par les thèmes féministes[17]. La conception libérale de l'égalité comme équivalence des droits et des chances s'attachera à promouvoir une promotion féminine sans considérer les effets de la structure. À cette position s'oppose l'analyse issue des interventions féministes qui prend en compte la division sociale entre les sexes et définit les femmes comme groupe social dominé dans le cadre du patriarcat. C'est cette seconde position qui peut justifier

17 Le vecteur principal du Féminisme d'État, son noyau dur, se révèle être le principe d'égalité professionnelle pour emprunter une terminologie qui n'apparaît qu'en 1979. Ce principe d'égalité professionnelle ne supplante pas dans les esprits et les pratiques le principe d'égalité de salaires, ni la nécessité de promotion professionnelle qui continuent à exprimer le plus fréquemment la demande d'égalité entre hommes et femmes dans le travail.

l'adoption de mesures de type compensatoire dites de discrimination positive.

Mais malgré ces divergences de points de vue s'instaure une certaine forme de continuité dans l'action de l'État au travers, par exemple, des travaux du Comité du Travail Féminin. Finalement un consensus semble s'être établi entre les responsables de l'action en direction des femmes sur la formation comme mode d'intervention privilégié pour favoriser l'égalité professionnelle, et donc l'égalité entre les sexes, les postulats implicites sur lesquels repose ce consensus méritant discussion:

1- La formation serait l'explication des inégalités professionnelles entre hommes et femmes: c'est parce que les femmes sont insuffisamment ou mal orientées qu'elles subissent plus que les hommes le chômage, qu'elles ont des carrières plus difficiles etc. C'est ici conférer à l'appareil scolaire une autonomie et une efficacité propre sous-estimant ses liens avec le système productif; c'est nier l'existence de la division sexuelle du travail comme principe structurant du marché du travail.

2- Les différences constatées dans les orientations professionnelles des filles ne sont pas appréciées qu'en termes d'erreurs, de poids de conditionnements antérieurs avec deux corollaires: les pratiques des femmes ne sont pas resituées dans un champ de rapports de force mais renvoyées aux comportements individuels; choisir des filières "traditionnellement féminines" relève de l'aliénation, l'égalité est ici vue comme identité.

5.3 LES ACTIONS MENÉES EN DIRECTION DE LA FORMATION INITIALE DES FILLES

Partant de ces postulats, l'orientation des filles sera le centre des préoccupations des responsables. Le constat de départ, c'est le caractère restreint de l'éventail des choix de formation professionnelle des filles: "Trente métiers pour les filles, 300 pour les garçons". Mais la complexité du problème réside d'abord dans le fait qu'on ne sait pas très bien analyser les modalités de l'orientation, mesurer le rôle des mécanismes institutionnels, des différents intervenants, les processus de décision des filles et des garçons et de leur famille. Il faut donc intervenir auprès de tous les acteurs.

5.3.1 LES ÉTABLISSEMENTS SCOLAIRES ET LEURS DIRECTEURS

Dans l'enseignement professionnel, le problème se pose d'abord en termes de réalisation de la mixité scolaire. Il s'agit de permettre l'accès des établissements d'enseignement professionnel dans les secteurs "non traditionnellement féminins" aux jeunes filles en levant les obstacles invoqués par les directeurs: le manque d'équipements spécifiques. Les obstacles à la mise en oeuvre de la mixité sont donc présentés en termes très concrets. Mais au-delà, quand les jeunes filles pourront pénétrer dans ces établissements, encore faudra-t-il qu'elles y soient bien accueillies et en assez grand nombre pour

ne pas se sentir isolées. Ces derniers points renvoient à la culture d'établissement, elle-même liée à la culture de métier. Ces difficultés d'accès sont assez dissuasives pour renforcer les idées préconçues sur le "sexe" des métiers.

On est frappé de la difficulté à faire passer cette idée de mixité des métiers, difficulté manifestée par la récurrence des circulaires concernant "l'admission des jeunes filles dans les sections industrielles" (10 oct. 1966): "Le moment est donc venu de rappeler très fermement la règle de l'égalité d'accès des filles et des garçons aux enseignements techniques et professionnels de tous les niveaux". L'ordonnance du 20 nov. 1969 rappelle les termes de cette circulaire en précisant les points précis d'application de ce principe: examen des candidatures féminines, prévision des conditions d'accueil et notamment sous la forme d'internats féminins. La circulaire du 29 avril 1982 porte de façon plus générale sur "l'orientation des jeunes filles". Après avoir constaté le maintien de la division entre sections féminines et sections masculines, elle note que "l'orientation des jeunes filles vers les formations traditionnellement masculines et vers les formations à de nouvelles techniques se heurte à des attitudes ou à des habitudes, parfois aussi à des difficultés d'ordre matériel telles que l'absence d'internat". Les actions proposées pour remédier à cette situation sont de trois ordres: "information", "accueil et adaptation", "préparation de l'insertion professionnelle". En

1984, Yvette Roudy demandera que soit menée "une politique volontariste de recrutement paritaire". Mais cette même année, lors d'un débat parlementaire, un député appellera l'attention du ministre "sur les discriminations sexistes qui sévissent encore actuellement dans les établissements d'enseignement professionnel: certains lycées refusent des candidatures féminines dans les sections de mécanique auto par exemple, en utilisant le prétexte de l'impossibilité où se trouve l'établissement d'accueillir les jeunes filles en internat". Ici le problème central est de mesurer et d'analyser le poids respectif de la socialisation différentielle des sexes dans la prime enfance et des rapports de sexe dans le champ scolaire au quotidien.

5.3.2 LES PERSONNELS DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE

Avec le Ministère des droits de la femme (1981) créé par le gouvernement socialiste, le champ d'intervention s'élargit: Yvette Roudy reprendra les analystes féministes sur les conditionnements qui pèsent sur les filles dès leur plus jeune âge dans une "société d'inégalités". Ainsi en novembre 1983, une note de service adressée à tous les responsables de l'Éducation Nationale s'intitule "Lutte contre toute discrimination à l'égard des femmes dans les communautés éducatives" et invite à lutter contre "les stéréotypes sexistes" sur trois plans: "les représentations dans la vie quotidienne à

l'école", "les choix des manuels.", "la formation des personnels de l'Éducation Nationale".

Surtout un certain nombre de mesures spécifiques seront prises sous forme d'une convention sur la formation et l'orientation des filles signée entre les deux ministres (Droits de la Femme et Éducation Nationale). Cette convention prévoit, au-delà des recommandations diverses, la création de classes passerelles pour permettre aux jeunes filles de se réorienter vers des filières techniques, la création de postes d'études pluridisciplinaires féministes dans les Universités, des actions de formation continue pour les formateurs et pour les conseillers d'orientation et, pour assurer la mise en oeuvre des mesures arrêtées, la désignation auprès de chaque chef de service d'information et d'orientation d'un(e) chargé(e) de mission à temps plein. Ces chargé(e)s de mission ont permis de réaliser des actions au niveau scientifique ou des procédures de recrutement paritaires filles-garçons dans les nouvelles sections.

Mais les changements politiques intervenus posent le problème des instances capables de mettre en oeuvre et d'assurer le suivi de ces mesures. Ainsi la disparition du Ministère des droits de la femme et son remplacement par un Secrétariat a eu pour effet d'interrompre le processus engagé au sein de l'Éducation Nationale: les trois postes d'Études

Féministes créés dans les Universités ne furent suivis d'aucune création ultérieure; les chargées de mission furent remerciées et rentrèrent dans le rang. Les actions de formation ne purent se poursuivre que grâce au financement de la CEE. Ainsi est posé de front le problème de l'efficacité des structures spécifiques pour les femmes ou encore de mesures qui n'engagent pas suffisamment les ministères qui détiennent les réels pouvoirs administratifs et financiers.

Après l'intermède du Secrétariat à la condition féminine, le deuxième septennat ne verra pas poursuivre le choix d'un ministère à part entière mais seulement d'un Secrétariat d'État, soit d'une politique qui privilégie l'action auprès des différents ministères, le Secrétariat n'ayant que peu de moyens d'intervention propres.

5.3.3 LES JEUNES FILLES ET LEURS PARENTS

Dans ce domaine, le ministère est intervenu sur deux plans, l'un symbolique, c'est la grande campagne lancée sur le thème "les métiers n'ont pas de sexe", l'autre plus concret, la bourse accordée sur concours à des lycéennes se destinant à des filières scientifiques. Lutte contre les préjugés sexistes et encouragement matériel sont donc à ce moment-là menés de pair.

La lutte contre les préjugés sexistes se marquera essentiellement par l'introduction d'éléments spécifiques dans les circulaires de rentrée donnant des directives pédagogiques. Ceci rejoint l'action menée par des féministes à travers divers types de publications et d'associations. Depuis l'ouvrage de Belotti (1975) décrivant l'ensemble des comportements éducatifs différenciés par rapport aux filles et aux garçons, jusqu'à l'association pour une éducation non sexiste créée par Valabrègue en passant par le recueil de textes féministes "Petites filles en éducation" (1976) ou le travail de la commission femmes du SGEN, on voit se développer la dénonciation des pratiques "sexistes" en éducation et du maintien des images des rôles sexuels via les manuels scolaires. Ici on retrouve toutefois l'ambiguïté de toutes ces critiques: s'agit-il, comme aurait tendance à le faire Belotti, d'insister sur la répression des capacités d'autonomie des filles, au risque de faire apparaître les garçons comme modèles, ou de favoriser un modèle de comportement "neutre"? C'est peut-être cette image d'un être androgyne qui heurtera certains jeunes lors de la campagne par voie d'affiches sur les murs de Paris contre les stéréotypes concernant la notion de métiers "féminins" ou "masculins". On peut s'interroger sur l'efficacité de ce type d'intervention publique sur les choix qui touchent à l'image de soi et donc à la définition de l'identité des jeunes.

Quant aux bourses, leur existence sera maintenue et même développée, mais elles ne touchent qu'un petit nombre de jeunes filles chaque année. Ces bourses interviennent à un haut niveau puisqu'elles visent à favoriser l'accès des jeunes filles à des emplois de cadres supérieurs et d'ingénieurs. Il s'agit bien ici de la promotion d'une "élite" féminine mais le mode d'intervention soulève le problème sensible en France de la "discrimination positive". C'est ce qu'un député (de l'opposition) objectera perfidement en 1985: "il demande à Monsieur le Premier Ministre s'il ne lui semble pas contraire au principe de l'égalité des sexes, si souvent prônée par le Gouvernement, d'envisager l'attribution de bourses à des élèves-ingénieurs dont les seules bénéficiaires sont des personnes de sexe féminin". La réponse du ministre souligne la différence évoquée plus haut entre le principe d'égalité des droits, inscrit dans la Constitution, et l'inégalité des chances pour les femmes dans notre société: "Afin de mettre en accord le principe de l'égalité avec la réalité, il est nécessaire de promouvoir des actions positives ou de rattrapage". On voit ici les difficultés de la mise en oeuvre d'une politique d'égalité.

5.4 BILAN

On peut faire un bilan de la situation actuelle au niveau de la formation initiale et des évolutions qui se dessinent. Les derniers bilans statistiques reprennent au niveau des

tendances générales les constatations faites depuis les années 80 (Clémenceau et de Virville, 1981; Lamoure, 1983). Ainsi l'article de Données sociales (Baudelot et Establet, 1990) souligne le développement "spectaculaire" de la scolarité féminine. Mais la croissance globale des effectifs féminins s'accompagne "d'inégalités persistantes" dans les orientations. Si on considère les trois paliers principaux de la scolarité, l'orientation vers les filières courtes de l'enseignement professionnel, l'orientation vers une série du baccalauréat, l'orientation au sein des enseignements supérieurs, on voit se dessiner des différences de trajectoires très significatives entre filles et garçons.

5.4.1 ENSEIGNEMENT PROFESSIONNEL COURT

Si les filles se maintiennent plus souvent dans l'enseignement général (30% des garçons entrés en 6e en 1980 se retrouvent 5 ans plus tard, dans l'une des filières courtes de l'enseignement professionnel, contre seulement 23% des filles) c'est que l'enseignement professionnel est défavorable aux filles. Elles s'y retrouvent dans un petit nombre de filières spécifiques. Elles sont plutôt dans les filières du secteur tertiaire (79,9%), employées des collectivités ou du commerce, secrétariat et professions de santé, que dans le secondaire (20,7%) où 76% d'entre elles préparent un CAP Textile-Habillement en 1988. On y retrouve bien "l'apartheid sexuel"

(Maruani,1987) du monde du travail. Ainsi en 1983, 70% des salariées de l'industrie exercent leur activité dans dix secteurs largement féminisés (Huet, 1983).

La (non) mixité des filières s'est-elle modifiée dans la dernière décennie? La proportion de filles parmi les élèves présentés aux CAP et BEP nationaux en 1980 et 1988 passe de 94,3% à 96,7% pour le CAP textile-habillement, de 62,5% à 71% pour le CAP comptabilité, assurances, banques, mais de 99,6% à 84,7% pour le CAP secrétariat. Pour les BEP, on passe de 99,5% à 96% pour le BEP secrétariat, de 63% à 62,8% en comptabilité, et 98,6% à 97,3% pour les professions de santé. On peut dire qu'on ne trouve pas de variations significatives du côté des grandes orientations. C'est l'entrée de filles (en petit nombre) dans des filières "traditionnellement masculines" qui représente un changement, changement dont l'ampleur ne pourra être appréciée que sur une plus longue durée: s'agit-il de pionnières ou resteront-elles des exemples de pratiques marginales?

5.4.2 LES BACCALAURÉATS

On sait qu'en France le baccalauréat reste la clé de voûte du système scolaire, un "monument" auquel il est difficile de s'attaquer. La "démocratisation" de l'accès au baccalauréat s'est notamment faite par la création de nouveaux types de baccalauréats, les bac techniques en 1969, les bac professionnels en 1988. Mais parallèlement à cette

diversification, la hiérarchie des sections s'est maintenue voire renforcée, le bac C à haut niveau mathématiques restant la clé de toutes les orientations prestigieuses dans l'enseignement supérieur.

Le taux de féminité/masculinité, l'indicateur qui permet de mesurer l'évolution de la situation, est un instrument ambigu (Zaidman, 1986): l'évolution peut se faire par un déplacement des choix des filles grâce à une diversification des orientations; elle peut aussi être le fruit d'un élargissement des choix des garçons lié à une démocratisation relative de l'accès au deuxième cycle des lycées et/ou à la définition de nouveaux types de débouchés moins marqués comme typiquement féminins.

Pour l'enseignement professionnel, on retrouve la ségrégation sexuelle décrite pour l'enseignement court quels que soient les niveaux de scolarité. Pour l'enseignement général, 65% des filles se trouvent titulaires des bac A et B, ce qui leur interdit une grande partie des orientations scientifiques ultérieures.

Si l'on examine l'évolution des effectifs des classes de première, on constate qu'en A l'augmentation du nombre de filles (13,9 en 5 ans) dépasse celle du nombre de garçons (10,2) accentuant ainsi la tendance séculaire à attribuer les études littéraires, aux filles (en 1988-89, 82% des effectifs). La

tendance à la "féminisation" s'accentue. En regard, les terminales C maintiennent et renforcent la dominante masculine: loin de s'améliorer la tendance serait plutôt à une légère aggravation au cours de ces dix dernières années (35,5% de filles en 88-89 contre 36,8 en 1983-84). Les deux sections dont les effectifs ont le plus augmenté ces dernières années posent un problème plus complexe. Il s'agit des sections B et surtout G. Dans ce dernier cas, l'augmentation du nombre des garçons est beaucoup plus forte que celle des filles, faisant "tomber" le taux de féminité de 74,2% en 1983-84 à 68% en 1988-89. Dans ce cas il s'agirait d'étudier de plus près l'évolution des différents bac G1, G2, G3 et des types de débouchés.

5.4.3 ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR

Les filles sont majoritaires à l'Université (53% des effectifs), le lieu de formation qu'elles privilégient depuis toujours, mais restent faiblement représentées dans les filières scientifiques et techniques. Ainsi la proportion d'étudiantes en sciences est restée quasi identique depuis quinze ans, alors même que des changements sont intervenus à l'université avec la création de filières scientifiques assez diversifiées après le DEUG. De plus l'université est assez révélatrice de la tendance des filles à se limiter malgré l'avance prise au lycée à un niveau d'études "bac + 4" seulement. Après la maîtrise ou un diplôme équivalent, même dans les disciplines littéraires, le

nombre d'étudiantes de 3e cycle est inférieur au nombre d'étudiants. Là encore, on voit les limites des changements intervenus. D'une part, les sections scientifiques restent des bastions masculins. D'autre part, les jeunes filles qui réussissent scolairement freinent ou corrigent cette réussite sur la fin du parcours. Il faut là encore chercher le changement du côté de l'accès des femmes à des enseignements qui leur étaient jusque là fermés comme les écoles d'ingénieurs. Les femmes y atteignent 1/5e des effectifs mais avec comme toujours des disparités d'orientation. Ici est directement posé le problème des effets de la mixité. Première constatation: la levée du blocage institutionnel a permis dans un premier temps une avance des filles. Toutefois ces chiffres sont trop récents pour pouvoir tirer des conclusions sur les tendances à plus long terme. De plus il faudra comparer sur le long terme les situations où les filles peuvent investir un nouvel enseignement (grandes écoles d'ingénieurs) et celles où la mixité intervient comme "mixage" d'enseignements antérieurement séparés comme les Écoles Normales Supérieures.

En résumé, en ce qui concerne la formation initiale on ne peut pas conclure à de grands changements dans les mécanismes d'orientation des filles, celles-ci restant cantonnées pour l'essentiel dans des filières débouchant sur

des métiers conformes aux fonctions socialement attribuées à la femme au sein de la famille. On peut y voir, selon le type d'analyse privilégié, la marque d'un "retard" des mentalités, ou le maintien d'un système d'exploitation à travers la division sexuelle du travail qui traverse tant la famille que le travail professionnel. Il reste que le résultat de ces procès d'orientation est un taux de chômage des femmes nettement plus élevé que celui des hommes. Les responsables de la politique concernant les femmes ont donc envisagé des mesures qui permettraient de corriger en cours d'emploi les effets de cette orientation scolaire défavorable.

Tableau 1: Présentés et reçus aux CAP nationaux en 1988

Spécialité	Effectifs filles présentées	% des effectifs totaux	Effectifs garçons présentés	% des filles reçues	% des garçons reçus
Secteur secondaire	17 778	18,1	99 900	60,5	63,0
Textile Habillement	13 265	96,7	449	60,3	61,2
Alimentation	1 241	17,5	5,836	67,7	75,5
Mécanique	480	1,4	34 601	48,1	59,8
Photographie industrielle	465	42,7	625	60,4	60,6
Secteur tertiaire	101 867	78,6	27 727	78,1	80,1
Sténodactylographie	34 762	84,7	6 270	80,6	94,4
Techniques administratives	21 391	81,4	4 895	75,5	72,1
Comptabilité, assurance	19 390	66,0	10 007	77,3	76,1
Service hôtellerie-Collectiv.	12 222	63,2	2 466	70,4	63,8
Commerce distribution	6 699	71,3	2 771	80,0	83,2
Soins personnels coiffeurs	6 768	92,4	558	60,3	52,5

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale: France Métropolitaine

Tableau 2: Présentés et reçus aux BEP nationaux en 1988

garçons Spécialité	Effectifs filles présentées	% des effectifs totaux	Effectifs garçons présentés	% des filles% des reçues	reçus
Secteur secondaire	7 317	12,3	52 237	64,0	67,0
Textile Habillement	4 950	97,0	152	68,3	71,1
Alimentation	540	14,7	3 122	70,0	74,3
Mécanique	306	1,9	15 906	61,4	70,3
Dessin BTP	318	21,6	1 152	51,6	63,1
Secteur tertiaire	83 367	77,1	24 726	73,7	74,3
Secrétariat, sténographie	25 763	96,1	1 050	76,9	72,7
Techniques administratives	12 828	74,4	4 408	70,8	74,9
Comptabilité, assurance	22 340	62,8	13 214	71,8	73,4
Santé, paramédical	12 625	97,3	355	79,1	83,4
Commerce distribution	8 107	66,4	4 100	64,4	74,4
Services hôtellerie/collectiv.	1 704	51,6	1 599	74,8	78,8

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale: France Métropolitaine

Tableau 3: Présentés et reçus aux baccalauréats professionnels en 1988

Spécialité	Effectifs filles présentées	% des effectifs totaux	Effectifs garçons présentés	% des filles reçues	% des garçons reçus
TOTAL	3 701	37,4	6 205	77,1	75,8
Bureautique A	1 318	89,5	155	78,8	85,2
Bureautique B	1 214	68,2	565	78,6	83,0
Vente représentation	840	48,0	911	73,8	75,6
Production des matériaux	173	88,3	23	80,3	87,0
Bâtiment	63	12,8	431	52,4	55,9
Exploitation, Transports	51	38,1	83	64,7	81,9

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale

Tableau 4: Jeunes filles présentées et reçues au baccalauréat d'enseignement général en 1988

Séries et options	Effectifs présentés	% des présentées	% des admises
TOTAL	157 282	56,4	75,6
A1 Lettres Sciences	21 371	77,4	73,4
A2 Lettres langues	34 335	84,5	78,3
A3 Lettres arts	3 892	72,6	69,1
Total série A	59 598	80,9	75,9
B Économique et social	46 613	60,0	69,7
C Maths et Sciences Phys.	16 755	33,6	87,1
D Maths Sc. naturelles	33 259	49,4	77,8
D' Sc agro et techniques	604	27,2	63,4
E Sciences et Techniques	45	35,4	66,0

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale; France Métropolitaine

Tableau 5: Jeunes filles présentées et reçues au baccalauréat d'enseignement technologique en 1988

Séries et options	Effectifs présentées	% des présentées	% des admises
TOTAL	79 235	54,4	67,7
Secteur industriel	4 139	10,5	66,3
biologie	1 322	71,6	68,8
biochimie	894	64,4	66,0
chimie	565	41,1	74,9
Secteur tertiaire	75 096	70,7	67,8
Tech quantitative gestion	23 422	59,3	66,8
techniques administratives	21 799	95,0	67,9
techniques commerciales	16 227	56,5	62,5
Sc médico-sociales	12 761	98,4	75,6

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale: France Métropolitaine

5.5 FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE ET FORMATION PERMANENTE

Ce domaine relève à la fois d'une politique de l'emploi et de la politique familiale. On a déjà pu mettre en évidence (Cahiers de l'APRE n° 5, 1986; Thibault, 1986) la façon dont, pour les femmes, ces deux politiques sont étroitement liées: favoriser leur retour sur le marché de l'emploi ou au contraire tenter de les renvoyer au foyer sont issus de mesures sociales. À l'inverse, la réponse à certains problèmes sociaux telle la nouvelle pauvreté des femmes, renvoie au problème de l'emploi et du chômage. Le développement des emplois temporaires et du temps partiel qui touche essentiellement la femme est ainsi une mesure économique qui intervient à la fois sur le marché de l'emploi et sur la position des femmes au sein de la famille et de la société.

La préoccupation constante des pouvoirs publics qui se manifeste par le nombre élevé des décisions dans ce domaine va donc se traduire par des types de mesures qui évolueront au cours de la période considérée en fonction des problèmes économiques. Nous prendrons deux exemples significatifs, l'un concerne les dispositifs de formation des femmes en réinsertion professionnelle, l'autre plus récent concerne la formation professionnelle dans le cadre des plans d'égalité.

Creze (1988) met en évidence la grande ambiguïté des actions en faveur de la formation permanente des femmes liée au fait que les critères de catégorisation des publics féminins visés ne sont pas homogènes. Outre les critères professionnels et/ou pédagogiques communs aux hommes et aux femmes par-delà les spécificités liées aux problèmes déjà évoqués de l'orientation et du marché du travail, on utilise aussi des critères matrimoniaux qui justifient des mesures de "discrimination positive", notamment pour les mères de famille. Cette discrimination renvoie essentiellement à un phénomène particulier à la main d'oeuvre féminine qui tient au retour sur le marché du travail de femmes ayant interrompu leur activité professionnelle. C'est le problème de la réinsertion des femmes qui est principalement visé par les mesures accordant des droits particuliers aux mères de famille. Or si le retour des femmes sur le marché du travail va être encouragé dans les années 60-70, années de plein emploi, avec la montée du chômage et les restructurations industrielles, ce retour ne sera plus autant souhaité. On va donc passer d'une période où l'on tente de donner aux femmes une formation professionnelle, avec pour objectif global une meilleure qualification de la main d'oeuvre féminine qui doit permettre son adaptation aux mutations de l'appareil économique, à une période où la formation continue est d'abord utilisée comme instrument de politique sociale. L'analyse critique de Creze la

conduit à parler d'une stratégie de non-formation développée à l'égard des femmes en voie de réinsertion professionnelle: "la formation professionnelle continue est considérée principalement comme un outil d'adaptation aux fluctuations économiques. Public désiré pendant les années de croissance économique, ces femmes deviennent encombrantes pendant les années de crise. En période de plein emploi, la formation continue est utilisée comme un argument pour inciter les femmes à une reprise d'activité professionnelle. En période d'excédent de main d'oeuvre, la nécessité qualifiante n'apparaît pas nettement".

L'action probablement la plus centrale du Ministère du Droit des femmes est la promulgation de la loi du 13 juillet 1983 (annexe 5) relative à l'égalité professionnelle entre les femmes et les hommes. Un exemple particulièrement intéressant pour comprendre les mécanismes en cours concernant la formation des femmes nous semble être celui des plans d'égalité professionnelle qui s'inscrivent dans le cadre de cette loi. Négociés dans les entreprises entre les partenaires sociaux, ces plans pouvaient comporter, au seul profit des femmes, des mesures de rattrapage dans les domaines du recrutement, de la formation, de la promotion, des rémunérations et des conditions de travail. Un rapport du GRAF (Groupe de Recherche sur l'Activité des Femmes, 1988) permet de faire un bilan sur 5 ans des conventions signées (17 entreprises au

moment de l'enquête). La première conclusion de l'étude est une dérive des plans par rapport au projet initial du législateur. On retrouve donc toujours le même problème, le recours à la formation comme consensus permettant de "tourner" les difficultés concernant l'emploi des femmes. Une deuxième conclusion de l'étude nous paraît fondamentale. Tout en soulignant les aspects du plan d'égalité et des processus de formation pour les femmes concernées dans la mesure où il constitue "un outil de légitimation du droit des femmes à la formation professionnelle", les auteurs mettent en évidence le processus de différenciation entre les femmes induit par la démarche.

5.6 CONCLUSION

En résumé, s'il y a une certaine amélioration, c'est par le haut. On a le sentiment que les effets de la mixité généralisée et de l'élévation du niveau de scolarisation profitent aux femmes de façon différentielle selon leur milieu social d'origine. Ainsi se constitue une "élite" féminine qui se trouve en position de profiter des avantages offerts par la mixité. Cette promotion sociale de certaines femmes est en partie liée à une évolution générale du statut des femmes et de leur rapport à l'emploi, en partie à la création des structures d'intervention qui se sont succédées depuis 1965 et ont contribué selon Martine Lévy à la création d'une forme de "féminisme d'État": ces instances

étatiques auraient ainsi procédé à "un remodelage législatif dessinant un statut de la femme autonome et égale mais qui apparaît en décalage sur les comportements et les pratiques". On retrouve alors le problème posé par l'approche historique de la première partie: comment peut-on cerner la demande sociale des femmes? Si cette notion doit permettre de trouver l'articulation entre les pratiques sociales, les stratégies individuelles et familiales, et les politiques d'État, on doit à son tour l'interroger en termes de groupes sociaux différenciés. Peut-on alors parler d'un effet d'entraînement par la diffusion des modèles entre les femmes de groupes sociaux différents ou au contraire d'un développement à deux vitesses qui creuserait l'écart avec les femmes sous-qualifiées, sous-payées, surexploitées? Ceci est un enjeu central pour le féminisme comme théorie et comme mouvement.

Toutes ces analyses nous conduisent à réinterroger la notion d'égalité. Si l'action de l'État, essentiellement législative, a surtout consisté à construire l'égalité juridique entre les femmes et les hommes, elle n'a pas été relayée par un mouvement féministe paralysé par ses scissions et mal préparé par ses racines radicales soit à collaborer directement avec les institutions étatiques, soit à servir de groupe de pression. La mise en cause radicale de la société patriarcale centrée sur l'oppression des femmes au sein de la famille, s'est trouvée en décalage avec l'accent porté sur la formation et le travail qui

furent pourtant des thèmes constants de revendication au cours du siècle précédent. Le MLF (Mouvement de Libération des Femmes) des années 70 se constitua en rupture avec les organisations traditionnelles, mixtes. Très largement influencées comme les femmes de la génération précédente par le marxisme, les femmes du MLF innovèrent par une thématique en rupture avec la priorité donnée à l'intégration sociale des femmes par le travail salarié. Les analyses et les actions sur l'exploitation par le travail domestique, sur la contraception et l'avortement, sur le sexisme au quotidien, finalement sur toutes les manifestations de "l'appropriation du corps des femmes" (Guillaumin, 1978) accompagnèrent sur le plan symbolique les profonds changements sociaux qui marquent dans les années 70 la modernisation de la société française (Zaidman, 1987). Le mouvement féministe, ayant largement influencé la pensée et l'action de toute une génération de femmes, ne put créer suffisamment d'associations durables pour influencer ou relayer l'action des institutions. L'image du féminisme comme mouvement subit un rejet au nom même d'une égalité qu'il a contribué à réaliser mais dont on connaît par ailleurs les limites dans la réalité sociale: l'égalité juridique n'a pas aboli les rapports de domination.

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5.8 TERMINOLOGIE

1-C.P.P.N. "Classes préprofessionnelles de niveau " accueillent pour 1 ou 2 ans, en vue de la préparation du CAP (4) en 3 ans, les élèves de 14 ans qui ne peuvent entrer en 1ère année de cette formation.

2-C.P.A. "Classes préparatoires à l'apprentissage "accueillent pour 1 ou 2ans, en vue de la préparation du CAP en 3 ans, les élèves de 15 ans qui ne peuvent entrer en 1ère année cette formation. Elles dispensent un enseignement en alternance.

3-C.F.A. "Centres de formation d'apprentis" -Établissements autorisés à assurer la formation théorique, générale et professionnelle des apprentis.

4-C.A.P. "Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle" -Diplôme qui sanctionne soit deux ans d'études après la classe de 3ème dans les LEP, soit trois ans d'études après la classe de CPA (classes rares).

5-L.E.P. "Lycées d'enseignement professionnel". Ils accueillent les élèves soit à l'issue de la classe de 3ème pour la préparation d'un BEP ou CAP en 2ans, soit à l'issue de la classe de 5ème pour la préparation d'un CAP en 3 ans.

6-B.E.P. "Brevet d'études professionnelles". Diplôme qui sanctionne, à l'issue de la classe de 3ème, une formation professionnelle en 2 ans à l'ensemble des activités d'un même secteur professionnel.

7- B.Tn. "Baccalauréat de Technicien" -Diplôme de fins d'études secondaires. Il sanctionne une formation générale et professionnelle. Il conduit soit à la vie active, soit à la poursuite d'études supérieures.

8- B.T. "Brevet de technicien" -Diplôme de fin d'études secondaires. Il peut également conduire à la poursuite d'études dans les STS (10) ou certains IUT (12).

9- B.T.S. "Brevet de technicien supérieur" -cf."STS"

10-S.T.S. "Sections de technicien supérieur" -Classes ouvertes dans certains lycées. Elles dispensent une formation théorique et pratique, de type Bac+ 2, sanctionnée par le BTS, dans les secteurs d'activités très variés.

11-I.U.T. "Institut universitaire de technologie" -Institut faisant partie d'une Université dispensant un enseignement supérieur court à finalité essentiellement professionnelle sanctionné par le DUT, dans les secteurs d'activités secondaires et tertiaires (Type Bac+2).

12-D.U.T. "Diplôme universitaire de technologie" -cf. IUT.

13-I.N.S.A. "Instituts nationaux des Sciences appliquées" -Écoles recrutant les élèves sur dossier après le baccalauréat et préparant au diplôme d'ingénieur.

6. WOMEN IN THE HUNGARIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM[17]

Katalin R. Forray

In the first half of the twentieth century a growing number of Hungarian women began to enter both secondary and higher education. This process was in accordance with the development of most European countries. This rise in women's education was undoubtedly in connection with their growing employment rate. Educational laws and structural changes in the educational system provided opportunities for them to attend schools hitherto open exclusively for men. The social developments following World War Two led to fundamental changes in women's education and employment as well. Some of these changes can be considered as the direct consequences of official

6.1 EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION

educational and social policies but even more as indirect, non-planned effects of other social processes. The following short review introduces the changes in women's education from a social and economic point of view.

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17 This contribution refers to the situation before recent radical political changes.

Women in the Hungarian Educational System

According to the latest census of 1980, women's educational level was still lower than that of men, though this rate is definitely determined by the older generation (chart 1). In the 35-39 age group the educational level of men and that of women are almost the same, while among those even younger women are better educated that men.

Educational expansion in Hungary was based on political decisions. In 1945 compulsory eight year long general schooling was introduced. This type of comprehensive school, still in existence in the same form, within almost 30 years made it possible for a crowd of young people to get a final certificate with no regard to their place of living. The 1961 Educational Act had a dynamic effect when expanding compulsory school attendance up to the age of 16. So now even girls living in villages, who could not finish elementary schooling before, are able to get elementary education in practically full numbers.

At the end of the forties grammar schools, previously educating the elite, were opened up to workers' and peasants' children. Lots of new grammar schools were founded and vocational secondary schools were integrated into them. The 1961 Educational Act, which in the name of a scientifical and technical revolution aimed at making the secondary final examination /matriculation/ available and even compulsory for all, provided even more possibilities for grammar school

Chart 1: The educational structure of the Hungarian population by age groups (%) 1980

AGE	WOMEN				MEN			
	No classes	General school	Second. school	Higher Education	No classes	General school	Second. school	Higher Education
10 - 11	1,0				1,1			
12 - 14	0,8				0,8			
15 - 17	0,7	94,1			0,7	93,1		
18 - 19			36,4				24,9	
20 - 24	0,6	95,1	42,7		0,5	95,0	29,8	
25 - 29	0,6	95,5	43,2	10,6	0,4	95,8	31,0	9,1
30 - 34	0,8	93,9	43,2	10,0	0,4	94,2	35,1	11,4
35 - 39	1,0	86,9	31,8	8,5	0,5	88,9	30,8	11,4
40 - 44	1,4	75,3	23,2	4,7	0,7	80,0	25,5	9,2
45 - 49	1,5	59,5	15,3	3,8	0,7	71,2	23,2	10,1
50 - 54	1,2	42,7	11,6	2,7	0,6	57,4	22,5	9,0
55 - 59	1,1	28,8	8,1	1,6	0,6	45,0	19,3	7,3
60 - 64	1,4	26,6	7,5	1,5	0,6	39,2	17,3	6,7
65 - 69	2,9	19,6	5,0	1,0	1,1	27,1	12,1	5,0
70 - 74	4,4	17,3	3,7	0,8	1,7	20,1	9,3	4,2
75	4,0	16,8	4,0	0,6	1,6	18,2	9,9	4,3
ALL	1,5	61,6	22,4	4,6	0,7	71,1	24,4	8,6

Source: 1980. Évi népszámlálás / 1980 Census / Vol. 36 Budapest, Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1981, p. 228

education. The aim of making grammar schools general, however, soon proved to be unfounded, for this development could be based neither on the aspiration of the population, nor on the economic possibilities of the country (Horvath, 1978). As a result the number of those taking the final examination in the grammar schools peaked during the sixties, and it became obvious that girls benefited more than boys from this policy. Boys, on the other hand, took part in apprenticeship training and vocational secondary education in greater numbers. This was supported by an educational policy decision which declared part-time apprenticeship training to be a part of the educational system, and within this, a part of secondary education (Nagy, 1972). In this way, compulsory education has been carried out since then in part-time apprenticeship training by more than half of the age group - among the boys this rate is almost two thirds.

From the end of the forties up to the seventies the enrollment opportunities in higher education were increasing and this increased the mobility chances for some social strata hitherto excluded from higher education; namely for worker and peasant youth and for girls as well. By the seventies it became clear that the economic development policy, based mostly on the evergrowing number of work-force, came to an end (in the planners' jargon: the possibilities of the extensive economic development became exhausted). The demand for higher

qualifications had decreased a lot by this time, due to the lack of a substantial social economic planning system. This could be well seen especially with men, where the proportion of those with the secondary final examination slowly began to decrease. Among women this cannot yet be markedly observed, though it is quite imaginable that similar tendencies might soon occur even there. Together with their growing level of education, the rate of women in non-manual occupations began to increase as well. In this way in the occupational structure a big gender-specific gap arose: e.g. 40% of men having taken the secondary final examination was working in non-manual jobs, while this rate among women was 80%.

6.2 TENDENCIES IN EMPLOYMENT

At the beginning of this century about 20% of women were employed. This rate increased slowly - except for war periods, of course. From the fifties on women's employment fast became general, so that according to the 1980 census, the proportion of women in employment was practically the same as that of men (chart 2).

For the background of this process we can refer to the extensive industrialization of the fifties and the pressure to work accompanying it, as well as to the two waves of collectivization in agriculture (the first in 1949-1950, the second between 1959 and 1961). The wage structure was automatically

centrally defined so that the maintenance of private households required two wage-earners. Furthermore, several social rights and allowances were linked to jobs - and this remained essentially unchanged. So women were forced to be employed - this can be considered as a kind of extension of war circumstances. It led to significant changes in villages first of all. As a consequence of the agricultural collectivization and the discriminative policies against rural areas and agriculture, men became commuters and were integrated into the industrial job-structure of the towns, while women remained in the villages and became employed by the local agricultural plants. Traditional small-scale industry was liquidated in the fifties, and it became possible only in the second half of the sixties, as a part of the new agrarian policy, to

Chart 2: Working age population (men: between 15 - 59, women 15 - 54) by economic activities and sexes

Year	All		Active employees		Inactive employees		Not employed members of a family	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1930	100,0	100,0	91,2	30,3	1,9	1,2	6,9	68,0
1949	100,0	100,0	91,0	34,6	1,6	1,3	7,4	64,1
1960	100,0	100,0	92,1	49,9	1,2	0,7	6,7	49,4
1970	100,0	100,0	87,3	63,7	2,9	6,1	9,8	30,2
1980	100,0	100,0	87,4	70,7	5,3	12,5	7,3	16,8

Source: 1980. Évi népszámlálás (1980 Census), vol. 36. Budapest, 1981. p. 268.

introduce non- agricultural production again, though connected to agricultural workplaces. This rural industry was however built mostly on small plants with undeveloped technology, and it offered hard manual work for under-educated women. The development of the more dynamic regions of the country still carry the burdens of the economic policies of the last 40 years.

It may seem quite natural that within the framework of employment girls aspire to find more favourable job opportunities than hard manual work. For this however they need higher qualifications. The tendencies in their aspiration can well be seen through the differences of two data surveys of 1971 and 1982, respectively, representing the motives for continuing their education of Hungarian pupils attending the seventh form of general schools. In 1971, in their choice of continuing their education, girls were decisively motivated by the following factors: easy work in a physical sense, the cleanness of the workplace, and only as a third factor came the social importance of the work. At the same time, boys were essentially motivated by good income possibilities[18]. And these are the causes why, within the characteristics of the Hungarian

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18 Tájékoztatás a 7.osztealyos 1970/71. Évipealyaválasztási szándékárol (Information about the further education aspirations of pupils in the seventh forms of general schools). Budapest, Országos Pályaválasztási Tanácsadó Intézet, 1974.

employment and wage system, boys tend to choose industrial work, either with some special vocational training or without, while girls are mostly attracted by traditional clerical work. The 1982 data show that the differences between the motives of girls and boys still remained. Among girls, however, the social importance of the work became more meaningful, and in their aspiration, schools leading to professional work gained a considerable preference. Especially significant is the difference between the aspiration of girls and boys within the lower social strata and in villages, where girls are generally characterized by higher educational aspiration than boys (Kiss and Schuttler, 1983.

As for real employment, the differences of the two sexes are partly compatible with expectations but partly incompatible. In simple clerical jobs requiring secondary school qualifications and being the worst paid jobs at the same time, we can hardly find any men, and some professional jobs hitherto considered to be dominated by men were also taken over by women (legal and medical jobs can be mentioned here besides teaching). While, at the same time, men are over-represented in leading position, a great many of them without the required qualifications. In traditional industrial jobs and in agriculture we mostly find women employed either unskilled or semi-skilled, while in modern industry (in electronics or in informatics) mostly men are employed.

The proportion of those having secondary school qualifications and still working as unskilled or semi-skilled workers is especially high among men, while it is growing among women as well. It means that secondary final exams do not guarantee non-manual job opportunities any more (Harcsa, 1984). Young people, of course, do not welcome this fact as a favourable growth in general school level, as they seek job opportunities compatible with their aspirations. They only see that an older generation of secondary final certificate holders could still manage to find qualified jobs, while they have less chance, because society cannot comply with the rising education of the population. The stagnation of the education level of men is related to these employment problems and this is why women's educational level is not rising either as rapidly as before.

6.3 SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

From the beginning of the seventies up to now, 20% of the age group finishing general school enroll in high schools (gymnasium) 25% in vocational secondary schools while more than half of them enroll in part-time vocational training. The rate of girls in high schools is almost two thirds, in secondary vocational training schools it is more than half, while in vocational training schools they represent only one third of the trainees. These proportions have been practically unchanged

during the last 15 years, so no change can he assumed in the near future either (chart 3).

The tendency that high schools become less popular,while secondary vocational schools are more in demand and their popularity is gradually growing, seems also unchanged. A kind of stability in the enrolment rates is ensured by the educational policy makers in such a way that they direct applicants from secondary vocational schools to high schools or to vocational training schools. The popularity of secondary vocational schools may be due to the fact that they offer a secondary school certificate which is legally of the same value as that achieved in high schools, that is it entitles its holders to enter higher education, while at the same time they provide vocational training as well. In this way those finishing this type of secondary school can enter the labor market as matriculated and at the same time skilled manpower. High schools, on the contrary, prepare students primarily for higher education. But because of extremely few places in higher education- in Hungary only 9-10% of the age group can enter higher education- a secondary school certificate is only a condition but not a guarantee of entering higher education. Those having a secondary school certificate thus appear on the labor market as unqualified manpower. So we cannot consider the high proportion of girls with a secondary school certificate as an indisputably positive developpment, for on the labor

Chart 3: Types of secondary schools by pupils attending (%)

Year	High School		Secondary vocational school		Vocational training school		All
	All	Girls	All	Girls	All	Girls	
1979	20,3	65,6	26,2	51,6	43,6	31,1	90,1
1980	20,3	65,5	26,0	51,3	43,8	31,0	90,1
1981	20,6	66,1	25,5	51,5	44,0	31,6	90,1
1982	20,5	65,6	25,1	51,6	44,1	32,1	89,7
1983	20,4	65,4	25,3	52,0	44,1	32,7	89,8
1984	20,2	65,1	25,8	52,0	43,8	32,6	89,8
1985	20,7	66,2	25,4	51,9	44,2	32,4	90,3
1986	20,4	66,1	25,3	51,7	43,1	33,1	88,8
1987	21,6	65,8	25,7	51,8	41,9	33,0	89,0
1988	21,7	65,9	25,8	51,3	41,5	33,2	88,9

Source: Középfoku oktatás. Statisztikai tájékoztató(Secondary Education. Statistical Information). Számítástechnikai és Informatikai Intézet, Budapest, 1989-1990.

market the majority of them did not have the same chance as boys with lower education. We could even say that girls take the places of those boys who withdraw from high schools, which schools are on the whole less valued by society. This can be well seen in the lower wages and the lower esteem given to high school qualifications. We can see similar tendencies with secondary vocational schools. The high proportion of girls in these schools is, first of all, in connection with the fact that most secondary vocational schools offer training on trade lines open traditionally mostly to women, like clerical work, hospital nursing and teaching in kindergartens. Boys, on the contrary, go in for training on trade lines that offer skills that can easily be converted into other skills, that is they take part in more traditional vocational training or in secondary vocational schooling more closely connected to production (Forray, 1988).

It should also be mentioned that elite-schools -officially non-existent- still exist in practice, especially in areas where the population belongs to the higher social strata. These general schools prepare their pupils for the best high schools and secondary schools, consequently for the most popular university faculties. The proportion of boys in the "elite high schools" is a very meaningful indicator. While in "mass high schools" we can hardly find any boys, in "elite schools" their proportion may easily exceed 50%. This is connected to a previously mentioned characteristics of further education

Chart 4: Proportion of women at the university and colleges

	University								College					
	Sciences		Engineering		Medical		Agricultural		Technical		Teachers Training		Medical	
Year	No*	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1981	1391	52,4	363	17,5	850	57,4	271	27,3	480	18,2	1721	73,6	349	89,5
1982	1522	57,1	336	16,1	826	56,7	324	31,7	434	17,2	1543	71,1	355	93,9
1983	1916	59,5	347	17,1	836	57,3	278	27,4	403	15,9	1389	76,1	339	96,0
1984	1862	59,4	314	15,6	796	56,8	266	27,1	420	16,9	1391	71,3	330	93,8
1985	1944	60,1	372	17,8	733	53,5	245	24,0	448	18,1	1582	70,4	343	94,2
1986	2060	60,1	331	16,2	808	58,1	245	22,2	399	16,2	1737	72,7	353	94,6
1987	2111	57,9	316	15,5	822	56,0	235	22,8	387	15,7	1703	72,8	340	96,3
1988	2031	55,7	299	13,2	776	52,3	282	23,9	349	14,5	1882	74,9	422	95,7
1989	2048	56,1	295	13,0	791	52,7	274	23,1	332	14,1	1967	75,6	415	95,4

*No: numbers and percentages of 1st year Female Students.

Source: Felsőfoku oktatás. Statisztikai tájékoztató (Higher Education. Statistical Information). Számitástechnikai és Informatikai Intézet, Budapest, 1982-1990.

aspirations, namely that the children coming from the higher social strata behave less specifically to their sex when choosing secondary schools or a profession.

So it can well be seen that the educational level of boys is lower than that of girls, because society and the economic system undervalue formal education, and offer more chance for the young people who are less educated but trained as skilled workers than for those who "only" get secondary final certificates. This unfavorable tendency is well perceived by schools and educational policy-makers themselves. Schools strive to make their themselves more attractive by admitting boys with lower general school achievement. Educational policy-makers keep on stressing how it would be important for boys to continue their education in high schools, but they lack the means to change the social background of these tendencies.

To enter higher education young people need to take an entrance examination besides acquiring a secondary final certificate. It has long been the tendency that twice as many apply for admission than can be admitted, though there are big differences among branches. There are some faculties where there are five or six times as many applicants as places, as in the faculties of social sciences, law and medicine, etc... At the same time there are faculties where there are fewer applicants than could be admitted, as in technical colleges for heavy industries. The rate of the two sexes is almost the same among

students, which may seem surprising knowing the disproportion of students finishing secondary schools. It can be essentially explained by the fact that mostly those boys enroll in secondary education, who definitely aspire for higher education, and who see real chances for/of that. Besides, it is also proven that in some faculties which are overwhelmingly dominated by girls, boys are admitted with lower entrance examination results. This is, of course, not an openly declared policy but it happens within the discretion of the universities themselves, which are allowed to make choices among the applicants succeeding in taking their entrance exams.

The rate of girls in higher education is especially high in teacher training: 75%, while in other faculties it is only 40%. On the whole, the proportion of girls in higher education is connected to the fact that the mass faculties of teacher training (which consist of teacher training for elementary schools, primary and higher grades; and for secondary schools) are occupied almost only by girls. The lower prestige a faculty has the more women there are among the students. Thus, for instance, in elementary teacher training for the primary grades, we practically cannot find any boys at all. But you can meet the same phenomenon in other faculties- as in universities training dispensing chemists or dentists.

A higher proportion of women work in underpaid occupations, and a job occupied mostly by women is not

attractive for young men. Occupying a post mostly taken by women means an obvious failure for men. This is how a kind of circulus vitiosus evolves. Some professional occupations lose their social prestige because of lower salaries, and as consequence, more and more men give up these positions. The more often women replace men, the more their salaries decrease in these occupations. Consequently, fewer men choose these professions, for it seems more and more deviant for men to work in these occupations. If this process tends to appear only in one profession or in another, it does not mean any social threat in itself. A main problem is, however, if higher qualifications and low social prestige tend to be closely interlinked in a way that leaves traditional patriarchic relationship essentially unchanged.

6.4 AN OVERVIEW

The increase in the educational level of the population, and within this, that of women together, with their full employment have not caused significant tension in employment, because women still had to be content with the lowest positions in the hierarchy. The tension between generations and sexes on the labor market was eased by the fact that the social prestige of higher educational qualifications decreased.

Full employment for women also means a kind of economic independence, though we cannot speak of equal rights in this

case. Even working women have to perform their duties as housewives and mothers in a "second shift", and men, just as in old times, tend to be still considered as the heads of the families. This does not mean only a right to, and pressure on, earning a higher income but it also appears in legislation. This inequality deeply embedded in society is well seen in a Family Rights Act of some years ago, according to which men are to play the leading role in families, while in case of a divorce women are deprived of both their children and their homes.

Society, though, has significantly developed from the times of the "state of war" when the present form of women's employment was basically shaped, that is from the time of the women miners and the women tractor drivers of the fifties. These starting conditions though have remained unchanged in many respects: it is not women who occupy the social positions desired by themselves, but because of pressure to be employed they have to be satisfied with the positions that cannot be filled with "more valued" male manpower. According to the hidden rules of the "state of war" prevailing even today, the jobs and occupations that women can undertake are permanently undervalued, and schooling itself gradually becomes a "feminine" value.

The educational system cannot shake off the influence of all this. A wide network of institutions for children had to be built, from infant nurseries and kindergartens to day care services,

but nowadays in the second generation, among narrowing economic possibilities we can notice not only the advantages but also some of the disadvantages of the "socialization" of children's upbringing. Besides these "hard" facts we cannot have a clear conception of the latent processes taking place in the schools, the institutions transmitting doubtful values. Despite the legally guaranteed emancipation and co-education, selection and counter-selection do take place in schools, and boys' schools and girls' schools are not created according to laws but produced by social values (Forray and Hegedus, 1987).

In Hungary, there is no statutory provision that would create an unequal position for girls as against boys in any level of education. Society and the economic system, though, introduce their own rules into schooling and create situations the consequences of which come to light only in the long run.

The development of Hungarian society has taken place under the conditions of an economic crisis and political changes. Women's rights concerning education have not been codified for political reasons and this situation may remain the same in the future for economic reasons. Various women's movements have just begun to form though it is not until the establishment of strong and efficient women's movements that women's rights to education can be legally vindicated.

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7. POLITIQUES ÉDUCATIVES ET PROCESSUS DE SCOLARISATION FÉMININE EN ITALIE

Giovanna Campani et Simonetta Ulivieri

7.1 INTRODUCTION

La tendance constatée au niveau mondial d'accès des filles à l'éducation à tous les ordres et à tous les degrés de l'enseignement[20] a pris en Italie des dimensions spectaculaires au cours des vingt dernières années.

À l'école primaire et moyenne inférieure (Scuola Media Unica), la parité d'accès des garçons et des filles est acquise déjà dans les années d'après-guerre et au cours des années 60. À l'école maternelle, elle se réalise pratiquement tout de suite après son institution, en 1968. Par contre, dans le secondaire supérieur et à l'université, la parité n'est obtenue que vers la fin des années 80, les taux de scolarisation féminine faisant de véritables progrès, année après année, à partir de 1970.

Entre 1970-71 et 1985-86, le taux de scolarité des jeunes filles âgées de 14 à 18 ans passe de 36% à 57%; c'est justement au cours de l'année 1985-86 que, selon les données ISTAT de l'Institut

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20 Il s'agit d'une tendance à niveau mondial, comme cela a été bien souligné, entre autres, par J. Michel (1988). Au niveau mondial, les femmes constituent 45% des effectifs dans l'instruction du premier degré, 43% du deuxième degré et 44% dans l'enseignement universitaire (données de l'UNESCO, Annuaire Statistique, 1989).

des statistiques, le taux de scolarisation des filles dépasse celui des garçons (57% contre 56%). Il faut aussi remarquer, qu'à la différence de la majorité des pays européens, l'obligation scolaire en Italie est encore limitée à quatorze ans. La présence des filles dans les universités augmente également beaucoup au cours des vingt dernières années: en 1970-71, leur taux de scolarisation, pour la tranche d'âge située entre 19 et 24 ans, ne dépasse guère 10%, contre 17% pour les garçons. Les taux de scolarisation augmentent progressivement pour les deux sexes, puis la distance qui les séparait commence à se réduire, jusqu'à la presque égalité actuelle: en 1976, le taux de scolarisation des filles, pour la tranche d'âge de 19 à 24 ans, est encore de 14%, contre 24% chez les garçons; en 1980-81, il est à 18% chez les filles et à 23% chez les garçons; en 1985-86, il progresse encore à 23% chez les filles et à 24% chez les garçons. Alors qu'au début des années 70, les filles ne constituent que 35% des étudiants universitaires, elles forment aujourd'hui 46% des effectifs (CENSIS, 1986).

Si l'on considère la période qui s'étale entre 1970 et 1986, nous constatons que les taux d'augmentation sont différenciés suivant le sexe: respectivement +20,5% pour l'école secondaire,

et +13,1% pour l'université chez les filles; +8% et +6,5% chez les garçons.

L'accès des filles à l'école secondaire et à l'université est homogène du point de vue régional, le Nord et le Sud de l'Italie étant touchés par le phénomène de la même manière; par contre, il ne l'est pas du point de vue des filières de formation et des facultés. Les choix d'orientation sont très marqués suivant le sexe: comme d'ailleurs, dans les autres pays de l'Europe, on assiste en Italie, à un phénomène de "segregazione formativa", ségrégation dans les formations.

Cette nouvelle présence féminine, quantitativement importante, "fait culturel et social extraordinaire" (Franchi et Mapelli, 1988) puisqu'elle renverse une tendance "historique" où la femme italienne est exclue d'une bonne part du système éducatif, s'accompagne de changements qualitatifs dans la réflexion pédagogique et dans la pratique de l'enseignement. Si les étudiantes sont porteuses de nouveautés, à l'intérieur de l'école, exprimant une nouvelle manière de chercher et concevoir la connaissance, le personnel enseignant, en majorité constitué de femmes, a aussi apporté des changements dans une institution qui, en Italie, est caractérisée par la

centralisation et l'immobilisme. En fait, ces changements quantitatifs et qualitatifs apportés à l'école ne sont pas le résultat de politiques spécifiques, qu'elles soient nationales ou locales, concernant la scolarisation des femmes. Elles sont le résultat de dynamiques sociales d'émancipation des moeurs à l'intérieur desquelles des femmes ont joué un rôle de protagonistes.

Certes, ces dynamiques se sont reflétées dans la législation scolaire plus générale: obligation scolaire jusqu'à 14 ans, institution de l'école maternelle d'État, augmentation des crèches, intégration de l'école avec les services sociaux (plein temps, cantine, transports, sport), définitions des orientations de l'école pour l'enfance et de nouveaux programmes pour l'école primaire et moyenne, avec une attention particulière à la continuité éducative de 0 à 14 ans. Mais il n'y a pas de lois ou de mesures spécifiques pour la scolarisation des filles: c'est seulement suite aux directives de la Communauté Économique Européenne qu'a été constitué un Comité de Parité entre les Hommes et les Femmes, auprès du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique (Éducation Nationale), et que des actions ont commencé à être mises en place par les autorités locales. Dans le cas de l'Italie, les processus de scolarisation des filles

doivent être lus à l'intérieur du processus de transformation globale socioculturelle, dans la dialectique entre école et changement social, école et mouvements sociaux.

Dans ce chapitre consacré à l'Italie, nous privilégions une approche historique, et nous reparcourons le "long voyage vers la parité" des femmes italiennes (Galoppini, 1980), en retenant comme optique principale l'évolution de la scolarisation féminine. L'approche historique permet aussi de mettre en évidence les racines de la Constitution Italienne, tant d'un point de vue culturel que politique: le principe formel de l'égalité des sexes étant déjà inscrit dans la Constitution, il a cependant fallu plusieurs années de batailles féministes pour qu'une véritable application en soit obtenue.

7.2 PROCESSUS DE SCOLARISATION FÉMININE APRÈS L'UNIFICATION DU PAYS

La scolarisation des garçons et des filles est une conquête relativement récente qui se développe en Italie, comme ailleurs dans la majeure partie de l'Europe, au cours du XIX^{e} siècle. Le développement des différents systèmes nationaux dépend d'un ensemble de facteurs: la structure de l'organisation politique qui les met en place, la capacité de la bureaucratie étatique,

centrale et périphérique, les progrès de la science, l'importance de l'industrie ainsi que l'attitude plus ou moins favorable du clergé.

La scolarisation des garçons et des filles était -elle l'est encore aujourd'hui- favorisée ou entravée par le milieu social ou familial des enfants. Par exemple, au cours du XIX^{e} siècle, les couches bourgeoises les plus progressistes ou les plus favorables à la diffusion de l'instruction, dénoncent comme causes principales de la sous-scolarisation des enfants, l'ignorance des parents vis-à-vis de l'utilité de l'école, leur peur et leurs préjugés vis-à-vis de l'alphabet, source "magique" de connaissance, la nécessité de faire travailler précocement les filles et les garçons.

Dans leurs choix, les familles se laissent davantage influencer par les autorités religieuses que par les élites civiles; dans les petits villages, l'autorité du curé n'était jamais mise en cause, ses conseils restent déterminants. Pendant des siècles, les curés enseignent aux enfants de la petite noblesse campagnarde, qui ne pouvait se permettre un précepteur, les rudiments du savoir et un peu de latin. Pendant

des siècles, les maîtres appartenaient au clergé, l'instituteur laïc n'ayant fait son apparition que beaucoup plus tardivement.

L'alphabétisation du peuple est également longtemps liée à la présence et au soutien du clergé. Si celui-ci lui est favorable dans les pays protestants, où le libre examen des Écritures favorise l'instruction, il ne l'est pas en Italie, où le caractère dogmatique de la religion fait coïncider instruction et éducation morale et religieuse, et où le clergé ne considère pas l'instruction comme un bien en soi.

Il faut aussi ajouter que, sur l'instruction du peuple dans son ensemble, pèse à l'époque une prévention d'ordre politique et social, qui tend à considérer l'instruction comme source de désordre. À cela s'ajoute, contre l'instruction féminine plus particulièrement, d'autres éléments de refus, tout aussi violents: on accuse l'instruction de dénaturer la condition de la femme, d'être un luxe aussi inutile que dangereux. Au nom de la préservation de la "nature" féminine, on déconseille d'apprendre aux jeunes filles à lire et à écrire.

Soulignons que l'enfance des filles est différente suivant les couches sociales. Dans les familles nobles et hautes bourgeoises, la préceptrice ou le couvent donnent la formation

de base accompagnée de notions culturelles axées sur le plaisir, la conversation, sorte de savoir "de salon": histoire de la mythologie, français, musique, danse. Dans les familles paysannes et prolétariennes, les petites filles ne vivent pas leur enfance: elles sont mises précocement au travail, dans les usines ou dans les champs -dur apprentissage de la vie, bien décrit par Engels (1972) et Mozzoni (1898) en Italie[21].

Lorsqu'on affirme à l'époque que les jeunes filles doivent apprendre seulement à tenir maison, on se réfère seulement à celles qui appartiennent aux couches bourgeoises. Cependant, cette insistance sur les dangers sociaux et individuels de l'instruction des filles provoque sans doute un retard de plusieurs décennies dans la scolarisation des filles par rapport à celle des garçons. La première a été longtemps confiée à des institutions religieuses -les contenus de cette instruction étant d'ailleurs très réduits, très simplifiés, et traduisant les préjugés de l'époque.

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21 Sur les conditions de vie de l'enfance prolétarienne, et sur les conséquences du travail d'usine sur la vie et la santé des femmes voir Engels (1882) et Mozzoni (1898).

7.3 LA LOI CASATI (1859)

La loi Casati, entrée en vigueur au Piémont en 1859 et progressivement élargie -après l'Unification Nationale- à toutes les régions italiennes, fixe l'obligation scolaire avec l'article 326. Les pères ou les tuteurs ont l'obligation de faire fréquenter par leurs enfants des deux sexes, en âge d'obligation scolaire, les écoles publiques primaires du degré inférieur.

Ceux qui, ayant la possibilité d'envoyer leurs enfants dans des écoles communales, ne le font pas, et qui ne s'occupent pas de leur éducation d'une autre manière, seront sollicités par les maires à envoyer leurs enfants dans ces écoles, et, lorsque, sans aucune raison légitime, ils persistent dans leur négligence, ils sont punis selon les lois pénales de l'État[22]. Les sanctions, toutefois, n'existent pas, ou plutôt, ne sont pas prévues: on se limite en fait à "solliciter". Ces pratiques, si tant est qu'elles se sont produites, ne sont certes pas contraignantes.

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22 Loi du 13 novembre 1859, n. 3725. La Loi Casati a été intégralement publiée in Appendice à: G.Inerzillo, Storia della politica scolastica in Italia, Ed. Riuniti, Roma, 1974; sur l'examen de la loi Casati et de la loi Coppino, voir aussi G. Canestri, G. Ricuperati, La scuola in Italia dalla legge Casati a oggi, Loescher, Torino, 1976.

La loi Casati prévoit aussi (art. 319), que, dans chaque commune, soit instituée une école primaire pour les garçons d'une durée de deux ans, et une autre pour les filles. Dans les écoles, l'instruction tend à être diversifiée, dans le sens des préjugés des familles: travaux de filles dans les écoles féminines supérieures, éléments de géométrie et dessin dans celles des garçons.

Les communes avaient des difficultés économiques tant pour trouver les locaux que pour recruter et rétribuer les instituteurs, provenant souvent d'autres régions: ces difficultés qui s'ajoutaient aux préjugés des familles et à la mise au travail précoce des filles ont longtemps contribué à un retard sensible dans les processus de scolarisation féminine.

De 1871 à 1911, l'analphabétisme dans le royaume diminue de 69% à 38%: celui des hommes passe de 62% au 33%, tandis que celui des femmes passe de 76% à 42%. Ces différences, très élevées, entre analphabétisme masculin et féminin, nous amènent à être d'accord avec Dina Bertoni Jovine, lorsqu'elle écrivit:

> La confrontation entre la situation culturelle de la femme en général et celle du peuple ne peut être saisie, si on ne considère pas que l'instruction "mineure",

destinée aux femmes, correspondait aux conditions sociales, tout en se situant à un degré inférieur par rapport à celle destinée aux hommes. En d'autres termes, il y a deux niveaux, inférieur et supérieur, et, dans chacun, le degré inférieur est occupé par la femme[23].

7.4 LA RÉFORME GENTILE ET LE FASCISME

Pendant le fascisme, on essaie de limiter la scolarisation féminine. En prenant le prétexte de la défense du "féminin", on veut accentuer les "attitudes féminines" des élèves à travers les programmes scolaires. On tente d'éloigner les jeunes filles du Lycée -considéré comme l'école de la classe dirigeante- naturellement masculine- et de réduire la présence féminine dans les instituts de formation des maîtres (écoles normales d'instituteurs) et dans l'enseignement - primaire et secondaire.

Gentile, dans sa réforme de l'école de 1932, créa un "lycée féminin" dont le programme est axé sur des matières aussi

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23 D. Bertoni Jovine, Funzione emancipatrice della scuola e contributo della donna all'attività educativa, in L'emancipazione femminile in Italia, un secolo di discussioni, 1861-1961 (a cura della Società Umanitaria), la Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1963, p 224. Sur la double marginalité de la petite fille prolétarienne, voir aussi: Alfabeto e emancipazione: l'acceso delle donne all'istrizione e all'insegnamento, in Fare scuola, la donna, n. 4, 1986.

raffinées que frivoles- la vraie école des filles. Mais cette école pour jeunes filles fut désertée par les filles, même celles de la bonne bourgeoisie, qui n'y voient aucun débouché sur le marché du travail. Elle ne survit pas longtemps après sa naissance.

Nombreuses sont, toutefois, les initiatives du régime pour réduire la présence féminine dans les écoles et pour bloquer l'occupation des femmes dans le secteur public, et, par conséquent, dans l'enseignement: en 1928 on établit par loi que les étudiantes doivent payer des frais de scolarité deux fois plus élevés à l'école et à l'université: on les empêche de participer aux "littoriali"[24] de la culture et du sport; dans les revues et dans la presse pseudo-scientifique, on fait remarquer qu'en général, l'étude ne convient pas aux femmes, qu'il épuise leur force physique, qu'elles doivent se préserver, puisqu'elles sont destinées à la famille et à la procréation (dans plusieurs publications de l'époque fasciste, maternité et procréation sont présentées comme le but principal de la vie d'une femme).

Enfin, 1938, un décret établit que, dans le secteur public, on ne peut assumer plus de 10% du personnel féminin pour le

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24 Compétitions culturelles et sportives organisées par le Ministère de l'Education et reservées aux jeunes.

nombre de places disponibles. Maria Antonietta Macciocchi (1978) fait remarquer à ce propos que ce décret fut particulièrement nuisible dans le domaine de l'enseignement d'où les femmes furent évacuées et où tous les nouveaux postes furent automatiquement occupés par des hommes.

Avec la libération de l'Italie, en 1945, toute cette législation anti-égalitaire et discriminatoire est abandonnée, même si les conditionnements qui ont mûri et qui se sont structurés pendant vingt ans dans les moeurs et dans les styles de vie sont plus difficilement rejetés. En 1945, les femmes italiennes reviennent de loin.

7.5 LA CONSTITUTION ITALIENNE ET L'ACTIVITÉ LÉGISLATIVE DES ANNÉES 60-80 CONCERNANT LA CONDITION DE LA FEMME

La Constitution italienne est issue des débats de l'Assemblée Constituante, elle-même issue de la Résistance au fascisme et au nazisme: celle qu'on appelle "résistance" est en réalité une "attaque", un moment de création et de proposition de nouvelles valeurs où l'émancipation de la femme retrouve sa place après les années de fascisme (Agnoletti, 1975).

Politiques éducatives et processus de scolarisation féminine en Italie

Plusieurs historiens s'accordent pour affirmer que les femmes opposent une très forte résistance passive au fascisme et à la guerre, et qu'il y a, pendant la guerre, une prise de conscience de la force et du rôle des femmes. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il faut comprendre le "front des femmes" à l'Assemblée Constituante: quoique peu nombreuses, elles se montrent unies, au delà de leur appartenance politique, sur les questions féminines.

Les articles de la Constitution qui concernent la question des femmes sont:

- l'article 3, qui établit le principe de l'égalité formelle et substantielle de tous les citoyens, indépendamment du sexe, de la race, de la religion;
- les articles 29 et 30 sur l'égalité à l'intérieur de la famille;
- l'article 37 sur la parité salariale;
- l'article 48 sur le suffrage universel;
- l'article 51 sur l'ouverture de toutes les carrières aux femmes.

Toutefois, la Constitution italienne ne sera pas appliquée immédiatement; en fait la Cour de Cassation établit une distinction entre les normes constitutionnelles, en les divisant entre celles à appliquer immédiatement, celles "prescriptibles" et celles "à exécution retardée".

Pour les femmes, cela signifie obtenir immédiatement le droit de vote et d'éligibilité, et, depuis les années 50, de meilleures normes en matière de maternité, mais, en ce qui concerne le travail et le droit d'accès à toutes les carrières, l'article 51 de la Constitution n'est pas appliqué, il est relégué parmi les déclarations de principe ou les normes à exécuter par la suite. Cela est d'autant plus flagrant en ce qui concerne l'accès des fonctions de direction comme celle de magistrat.

Par rapport à la problématique éducative, l'accès plein et sans équivoque au secteur public est particulièrement significatif: or, la mise en place de l'article 51 réclame plusieurs initiatives de la part du mouvement des femmes, des syndicats, des partis démocratiques, puisque différentes administrations étatiques continuent d'exclure les femmes des offices et des carrières traditionnellement masculins. L'article 51 de la Constitution est en fait interprété dans un sens restrictif, exception faite des "qualités":

> D'un point de vue substantiel (...), il faut observer que l'art. 51 interdit seulement les exclusions de principe ou générales des femmes des emplois publiques, mais il n'interdit pas qu'il puisse être établi dans chaque loi, sur les conditions spécifiques pour l'accès aux différents

emplois, l'appartenance au sexe masculin ou féminin (p. 305)[25].

Or, l'interprétation des conditions d'admission de la part des administrations, pour exclure les femmes des offices ou carrières, est extrêmement étendue, comme le prouve le cas de la Magistrature. D'où le nombre important de recours de la part des femmes.

Ce n'est qu'avec la loi du 9 février 1963: "Admission de la femme aux emplois publics et aux professions" que l'article 51 sera enfin appliqué. Voilà le premier article:

> Art. 1. La femme peut accéder à tous les postes, professions et emplois publics y compris la fonction de Magistrat, dans les différents rôles, carrières ou catégories, sans limitation de tâches, sauf les conditions établies par la loi. L'enrôlement de la femme dans les forces armées et dans les corps spéciaux est réglé par des lois particulières."
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> "C'était, dans l'histoire de l'émancipation de la femme, l'équivalent de la prise de la Bastille. D'ici peu, grâce à ce dernier coup de pioche au bâtiment du préjugé, on aurait vu les femmes magistrat, dirigeant de Ministère, conseiller d'Ambassade, capitaine de bateau, gardienne de la paix, chef de gare, mécanicien et aide-mécanicien,

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25 Cons. Stato, Sez. VI, 28 novembre 1962, n. 812, Pres. Aru, Est. Chieppa in Rivista Giuridica del Lavoro, 1963, p. 305.

secrétaire de mairie etc. et l'élimination de l'obstacle formel aurait fait découvrir le problème réel de l'accès des femmes à toutes les carrières: celui de la parité dans les conditions de départ, des empêchements spécifiques, de nature familiale et/ou sociale, qui aujourd'hui, empêchent plusieurs femmes de choisir librement leur carrière"[26].

L'activité législative des années 60 reflète les profonds changements de moeurs qui commencent à se répandre: après la reconnaissance aux femmes de l'accès à toutes les carrières, on reconnaît aux femmes au foyer le droit à la retraite. Mais c'est au cours des années 70 que les changements dans la condition de la femme seront les plus radicaux et l'activité législative la plus importante.

Pendant cette période, avec les autres mouvements sociaux, mouvement ouvrier et mouvement étudiant, le mouvement féministe fait un nouveau bond. La mise en cause de l'ordre existant porte à débattre tant au niveau de la société qu'au niveau de l'institution. Pour la première fois, on met sur le tapis les thèmes du "privé". La question de la femme n'est plus conçue en termes d'émancipation, à savoir de parité avec les

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26 Galoppini, A M. (1980), Il lungo viaggio verso la parità, Zanichelli, Bologna, 236-237.

hommes en termes de droits, mais aussi de "libération", à savoir la possibilité de manifester une "spécificité féminine".

Les mouvements les plus actifs, à côté du mouvement féministe, ce sont le mouvement syndical et un petit parti, le Parti Radical. Leur pression sera déterminante pour obtenir la loi 151, un nouveau droit de famille, la loi 898, qui institue le divorce, la loi 1204 sur la "Protection des mères travailleuses" et la loi 903 sur la "Parité de traitement entre hommes et femmes en matière de travail". Ces deux lois sont extrêmement importantes pour la condition de la femme en Italie.

La loi de protection des mères travailleuses est promulguée parallèlement à la loi 1044 sur l'institution des crèches de la municipalité: on reconnaît la valeur sociale de la maternité et on facilite aux femmes la possibilité d'être, en même temps, travailleuses et mères, en dehors du schéma traditionnel de la "tutelle" ou de la protection de la mère de la part du législateur contre les conditions de travail. Le principe de la tutelle, caché derrière l'ancienne législation portant sur les mères travailleuses, renforce l'idée que la femme est un être faible à protéger .

La loi 903 ou loi de parité de 1977 réalise finalement l'article 37 de la Constitution. La loi interdit toute discrimination à partir du sexe. Elle part de l'interdiction d'une discrimination sur le plan des salaires, à parité de travail. Toute discrimination concernant les qualifications, la progression de carrière est aussi interdite. Cette loi est le résultat de la rencontre entre deux branches législatives, celle sur les droits civils et celle des lois du travail, ce qui exprime aussi une nouvelle manière de considérer la condition de la femme dans sa globalité.

7.6 TRANSFORMATIONS SOCIALES, LÉGISLATION ET PROCESSUS DE SCOLARISATION DES FEMMES

Les lois qui ont changé la condition de la femme en Italie sont le résultat de la mobilisation de partis, de syndicats et du mouvement féministe; à cette mobilisation correspondent les transformations socioculturelles, des prises de conscience collectives, ainsi que la modification de l'image de la femme dans l'opinion publique. Les processus de scolarisation féminine sont à mettre en relation avec ces transformations. Toutefois, l'école et la législation scolaire ne sont passées que tout récemment au centre de la lutte des femmes. Certes, les

critiques adressées au système éducatif, discriminatoire et ségrégationniste, à l'enseignement sexiste, n'ont pas manqué ces dernières années. Le mouvement féministe mène depuis longtemps une réflexion sur l'étrangeté des femmes par rapport au savoir. Mais l'école en tant que telle, n'était pas au centre de la bataille féministe en Italie: le divorce, l'avortement, la parité salariale étaient des thèmes prioritaires. Si aujourd'hui, partis, syndicats et organisations féministes revendiquent explicitement une nouvelle politique d'éducation des femmes, mettent en question la ségrégation scolaire, débattent de l'éducation des femmes en termes d'égalité des chances" et / ou de "pédagogie de la différence" (voir plus loin), c'est aussi parce que certains objectifs ont déjà été atteints. C'est aussi parce que l'école, ce lieu de transmission d'un savoir qui se veut neutre, mais qui est le reflet d'une histoire caractérisée par le patriarcat, devient de plus en plus un lieu de femmes, à cause de deux phénomènes parallèles: l'entrée massive des étudiantes et la féminisation de la profession enseignante.

Entre temps, l'école a changé: elle s'est ressentie, peut-être pas autant qu'elle aurait dû ou pu, mais elle s'est ressentie des luttes féministes dans la société. C'est surtout l'image stéréotypée de la femme au foyer, de la mère ange du foyer,

complètement dépendante du père, véhiculée par les manuels scolaires jusqu'aux années 70, qui a progressivement disparu. Les manuels ont changé. La coéducation s'est imposée partout.

Les enseignantes changent également, au fur et à mesure où les nouvelles générations, qui ont participé aux luttes étudiantes et féministes, arrivaient dans la profession. Dans les années 60, l'image de l'enseignante traditionnelle est celle d'une femme bornée, véhiculant un savoir de classe, s'acharnant à sélectionner les enfants des couches populaires. Ainsi la décrit un pamphlet "Lettera a una professoressa[27]" (Lettre à une professeure), dont l'importance fut capitale dans les luttes étudiantes. Encore dans les années 70, dans une étude sociologique devenue bientôt un classique de la sociologie de l'éducation italienne, "Le vestali della classe media[28]" -Les vestales des classes moyennes-, les enseignantes du secondaires apparaissent comme colporteuses de conformisme social et de valeurs petites-bourgeoises. Or, même si une partie des enseignantes continue de correspondre à ces images

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27 Scuola di Barbiana, Don Lorenzo Milani, Lettera a una professoressa, Barbiana, 1966.

28 Il s'agit du livre de Barbagli, M. et Dei, M. (1972), Le vestali della classe media, il Mulino, Bologna.

anciennes, il existe aujourd'hui des mouvements d'enseignantes qui sont porteurs de réflexions critiques. Nous nous référons en particulier à la réflexion sur la pédagogie de la différence. Nous y reviendrons.

Mais ces changements ne sont nullement le résultat de politiques éducatives visant spécifiquement les filles et les femmes. Du point de vue institutionnel, rien -ou presque- concernant l'éducation des filles n'a émané du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Le système éducatif italien étant très centralisé, on peut dire qu'aucune réforme concernant l'éducation des filles n'a été réalisée. Certes, on peut considérer que des mesures législatives générales ont favorisé la scolarisation des filles ou la formation continue des femmes adultes. Voyons lesquelles.

L'introduction de l'école moyenne unique (secondaire inférieur) en 1962 a, sans aucun doute, contribué à mettre en valeur les potentialités intellectuelles et professionnelles de nombreuses petites filles, surtout appartenant aux couches les plus défavorisées, qui n'auraient pas, sans l'obligation législative, poursuivi leurs études. Les taux de scolarisation

des filles dans la tranche d'âge 6-13 étaient encore faibles au début des années 60.

En 1969, la libéralisation de l'accès aux Facultés universitaires, pour tous les étudiants ayant fréquenté une école secondaire supérieure de la durée de cinq ans, et la suppression du cloisonnement existant auparavant[29], marqua un passage important vers l'Université de masse. Toutefois, l'accès des filles aux Universités va au-delà de la tendance générale d'augmentation des étudiants universitaires, puisque le taux d'augmentation des filles est supérieur à celui des garçons.

Rappelons aussi la réforme des anciens programmes de l'école primaire, où on a enlevé des expressions qui seraient aujourd'hui assez choquantes sur les "qualités naturelles" des petites filles qui doivent être "dressées" (addestrate) d'une manière différente des garçons, et ceux de l'école moyenne unique (secondaire inférieur), où on séparait les garçons et les filles au moment des "applicazioni tecniche" (formation

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29 Seuls les Lycées (classiques et scientifiques) ouvraient l'inscription à presque toutes les Facultés Universitaires, les écoles techniques seulement à certaines Facultés spécifiques.

technique), les garçons faisant de la menuiserie, les filles de la couture.

Pour ce qui est de la formation continue, l'introduction du congé-éducatif -de 150 heures, par an, payées par l'employeur, si on y ajoute 150 heures de son temps libre- a permis à des femmes travailleuses de se former. Mais il s'agit, somme toute, de peu de réformes, et qui ne visaient pas spécifiquement la scolarisation des filles.

La situation a peu changé, au cours des toutes dernières années, soit grâce à une nouvelle sensibilité syndicale vis-à-vis des problèmes de scolarisation des femmes, soit grâce aux directives et aux résolutions de la Communauté Économique Européenne portant sur l'égalité des chances entre les hommes et les femmes et proposant les actions positives pour orienter les filles vers des formations non traditionnelles. Le niveau institutionnel commence ainsi à se sentir concerné, même si ce qui a été fait reste encore élémentaire.

La Communauté Économique Européenne est intervenue en matière d'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes en général, et en matière d'éducation et d'orientation en particulier, avec la Directive 76/207, relative au principe de la parité de traitement

entre les hommes et les femmes, la résolution relative à la promotion de la parité des chances pour les femmes (GU n. C186 du 21.7.1982) et la résolution du Conseil des Ministres de l'Instruction réuni le 3 juin 1985. Cette résolution prévoit un programme d'action pour la promotion de l'égalité des chances pour les garçons et les filles en matière d'instruction.

En Italie, ces directives et résolutions ont amené la constitution, en 1983, d'un Comité National pour la Parité (Comitato Nazionale per la Parità), auprès du Ministère du Travail et de la Sécurité Sociale, ainsi que d'une Commission Nationale pour l'Égalité des Chances (Commissione Nazionale per le Pari Opportunità), auprès de la Présidence du Conseil. La Commission Nationale de la parité auprès de la Présidence du Conseil a souligné et a gardé à l'esprit le thème femmes et éducation, mais en se limitant aux objectifs de sensibilisation générale correspondant à ses tâches institutionnelles (Franchi et Mapelli, 1989). Pour ce qui est de la formation, l'école doit devenir "le siège principal en vue de la connaissance des droits d'égalité. Elle doit être dotée de manuels scolaires qui ne soient plus inspirés de préjugés et stéréotypes sexistes, afin de libérer

les petites filles et les adolescentes des conditionnements dérivés de ces mêmes stéréotypes"[30].

Le dépassement des conditionnements implicites et explicites dont les filles ont été l'objet depuis la première enfance, s'est poursuivi à partir d'une action qui ne peut pas être limitée à l'école, mais qui en soit partie et qui devra être approfondie par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique en collaboration avec les institutions de formation et d'éducation permanente. Malgré ces déclarations de principe, c'est seulement au mois de février 1989 qu'a été constitué, par ailleurs sur sollicitation de la Confédération des syndicats d'enseignants, le Comité pour la parité des hommes et des femmes auprès du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

À côté de ces structures et de ces initiatives provenant du niveau central, il y a des actions positives qui se mettent en place au niveau local. Les initiatives de niveau local qui ont été mises en place dans le cadre des actions positives promues par la Communauté Économique Européenne sont:

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30 Linee essenziali del Progetto di Piano di Azione Nazionale, paragraphe 1, point 2, cura della Commissione Nazionale presso la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri (Directives essentielles du projet du plan d'action nationale).

a) Les cours de formation de conseillers en égalité des chances:

- le cours de formation de conseillers en égalité des chances, en Lombardie, s'adressant à des responsables des administrations régionales et des structures locales, déjà chargées des problèmes d'orientation (1986-87); ce cours a été financé par la Région Lombardie et a reçu une contribution du Fonds Social Européen;
- le cours pour les conseillers en égalité des chances dans l'enseignement secondaire, réalisé à Palerme, en Sicile (1988);
- une formation de conseillers en égalité à Bologna sur les mêmes bases que celui de Lombardie, le financement étant assuré par la région Emilie-Romagne avec contribution du FSE (1989);
- le cours de conseiller juridique en matière d'égalité avec la collaboration de l'AGFOL (Agence Formation Travail), à Padoue, en vue de préparer des spécialistes de l'égalité des chances pouvant travailler dans les Comités régionaux de l'emploi, le Ministère du Travail, les centrales syndicales, les administrations publiques et les entreprises privées;
- une formation "d'experts en orientation professionnelle des femmes", qui a réuni des agents des administrations régionales et provinciales et de divers organismes à fonction d'orientation en Lombardie (1989).

b) Une action de formation de promoteurs de services sociaux en faveur des femmes à Côme.

Il s'agit d'une formation de niveau universitaire de 420 heures (cours, séminaires, groupes de travaux pratiques, etc.), qui a pour but de former des personnes capables d'analyser les besoins des femmes de la province en matière de services sociaux et de réaliser pratiquement ces services.

Il y a ensuite un projet de formation de techniciennes du personnel et de l'organisation, à réaliser en Lombardie. L'objectif est de former des jeunes filles fraîchement diplômées de l'enseignement secondaire à des fonctions de plus en plus demandées par les entreprises en pleine restructuration.

Toutes ces actions s'inscrivent dans les actions "diversification des choix professionnels des jeunes filles et des femmes", à savoir le réseau B, coordonné par Évelyne Sullerot.

A cela il faut ajouter une expérience de recherche-action, portant sur l'égalité des chances et l'orientation des jeunes filles dans deux classes d'une école d'enseignement secondaire inférieur à Bologne, dans le cadre d'une recherche-action européenne, visant à stimuler l'intérêt et la participation des filles aux activités scolaires liées aux Nouvelles Technologies de l'Information, coordonnée par l'Association pour une éducation non sexiste[31] , et financée par la Communauté Économique Européenne.

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31 Rappelons, à titre de curiosité, le film de Marco Ferreri, Cerco Asilo, (Ppicacadodo), paru en 1979, après que la"loi de parité" ait permi aux hommes d'exercer la profession d'enseignant d'école maternelle. Le protagoniste, Roberto Benigni, qui devient enseignant dans une maternelle de Bologne, est un garçon qui se trouve confronté au monde de l'enfance (et de la femme).

Ces initiatives se font dans un contexte, où, comme d'ailleurs dans d'autres pays européens, le problème principal - et l'enjeu aussi- de la scolarisation des filles est la "ségrégation des formations", à savoir la sur-représentation des filles dans certaines filières de la formation professionnelle et dans l'enseignement universitaire, et la sous-représentation dans d'autres, en particulier les secteurs scientifiques et techniques, ainsi que les nouvelles technologies. Ce phénomène est assez marqué en Italie, où l'évolution -comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, spectaculaire, à bien d'égards- de la scolarisation des filles, est le résultat des mutations sociales et culturelles profondes qui ont investi la société italienne, et non pas de politiques. À la ségrégation des formations sont reliés des phénomènes préoccupants: la dévalorisation de certaines filières de l'enseignement universitaire où les femmes sont concentrées; la féminisation de l'enseignement - seul débouché possible après certains cursus d'études - et sa dévalorisation, en tant que profession réservée aux femmes, à laquelle les hommes s'adaptent faute de mieux; le chômage des femmes, toujours plus important que celui des hommes, provoqué aussi par la surconcentration des

femmes dans certains métiers et certaines professions, notamment ceux et celles du tertiaire.

Nous analyserons maintenant le phénomène de la ségrégation scolaire en Italie, qui est bien loin de trouver une solution, malgré les quelques actions positives mises en place. Mais avant de passer à la question de la "ségrégation scolaire" quelques considérations doivent être apportées sur la question de la centralisation et de la décentralisation en Italie. Le système éducatif italien est fortement centralisé, sauf en ce qui concerne la formation professionnelle, la formation des adultes et le secteur extra-scolaire. Les actions positives, telle qu'elles ont été organisées jusqu'à présent, dépendent fortement du niveau local. Certaines administrations locales et régionales sont beaucoup plus actives que d'autres sur les questions qui touchent les femmes.

La différenciation entre parcours masculins et féminins se manifeste à partir du secondaire. Dans le cas italien, elle revêt toutefois une signification fort différente dans l'éducation secondaire et dans l'enseignement supérieur. En fait, les filles, en Italie, comme d'ailleurs dans le reste de l'Europe, manifestent une nette préférence pour les études secondaires

longues. En Italie, les lycées continuent à être organisés autour d'un axe de formation classique (les lettres, le latin, le grec), et sont également les écoles les plus prisées et les prestigieuses. Cette persistance d'une formation littéraire et classique dans les lycées différencie l'Italie de la plupart des autres pays européens, où les mathématiques et les sciences sont devenues le critère à la fois de sélection et de prestige de l'école. Or, la réussite des filles dans les sciences est partout en Europe occidentale inférieure à celle des garçons.

Les filles se retrouvent donc, très nombreuses, dans les études secondaires longues des lycées, surtout le lycée classique, où elles sont majoritaires, qui sont, pour l'instant, les meilleures écoles secondaires, dans le sens où elles sont reconnues comme fournissant la meilleure formation. En Italie, comme partout en Europe, les filles sont peu présentes dans la formation professionnelle et se concentrent dans les formations les moins valorisantes. Elles sont absentes des Instituts techniques et professionnels débouchant sur les métiers de l'agriculture, de différentes professions de l'industrie, de la profession de géomètre. Elles se concentrent dans les formations commerciales ou dans les instituts techniques de tourisme. Elles constituent pratiquement 100%

dans les "Scuole Magistrali" qui forment les enseignantes des écoles maternelles (cette école était d'ailleurs exclusivement féminine jusqu'à la loi de parité 903 que nous avons mentionnée), et 93% des "Istituti Magistrali", qui forment les instituteurs et les institutrices pour le primaire.

La réussite des filles dans les lycées a comme conséquence leur entrée massive dans les Universités, et c'est justement à l'Université que s'opère la différenciation la plus significative du point de vue de la sélection.

> Aujourd'hui, la sélection opère surtout à l'intérieur de l'Université, selon une différenciation des parcours de formation bien précise à laquelle correspondent aussi des possibilités différentes d'utiliser les diplômes (Boccia, M., 1987, p.15).

Schématiquement, on peut considérer trois niveaux de filières universitaires:

> -les Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Facultés dites "de masse", étant donné le nombre élevé d'étudiants, y compris les étudiants travailleurs, dont les diplômes n'offrent pas de débouchés professionnels qualifiés ou sûrs (essentiellement l'enseignement secondaire inférieur ou supérieur). C'est là où se trouve la grande majorité des femmes: en 1985-86, en Lettres et Sciences de l'Éducation il y avait le 79% de filles. La dévalorisation de ces facultés a comme conséquence la mise en disposition, de la part du Ministère de

l'Instruction Publique, de moyens financiers plus faibles que ceux des niveaux deux ou trois.

-le Droit, l'Économie, l'Architecture, certaines Facultés de Sciences, Sciences de l'Agriculture, constituent un niveau d'études qui peut encore garantir la "promotion" professionnelle des diplômes et une insertion satisfaisante. Les femmes commencent à augmenter considérablement dans ces Facultés: entre 1970-71 et 1984-85, les femmes sont passées de 22,1% au 45,6% dans les Facultés de Droit, de 37,8% au 51,7% dans les Sciences, de 5,1% au 25,2% dans les Sciences de l'Agriculture.

-la Médecine et les Écoles d'Ingénieurs, certaines Écoles de management, certaines Facultés de Sciences constituent les filières d'élite d'où les femmes sont exclues, à l'exception de la médecine, où elles sont passées de 19,2% en 1970-71 à 38,8% en 1984-85. Dans les Écoles d'Ingénieurs, elles ne sont que 6% des étudiants.

Malgré des progrès dans la scolarisation des filles dans certaines Facultés, existe un couplage féminisation / dévalorisation des Facultés universitaires et des diplômes qui débouche sur l'enseignement de plus en plus féminisé et dévalorisé.

Les Facultés de Lettres n'offrent plus de débouchés que dans l'enseignement, ce qui entraîne une réduction des ressources pour la recherche, et ce qui contribue à déplacer les "cerveaux", surtout masculins, dans d'autres filières" (Boccia, 1987, p.17)

Cela pose le problème de la place de la recherche "féminine" conduite par les femmes, sur des thèmes qui intéressent les femmes, dans les Universités: elle risque d'être considérée comme un secteur de recherche de "deuxième ou troisième catégorie". D'autre part, la lente percée des femmes dans l'enseignement universitaire (nous reviendrons sur cette problématique), se fait surtout dans les Facultés de Lettres, les plus défavorisées.

Quant à la "féminisation" de l'enseignement, elle touche surtout le primaire (88,5% en 1984) et le secondaire inférieur (67,5% en 1984), dans une moindre mesure le secondaire supérieur qui se féminise (51,5% en 1984) également.

Pour ce qui est du primaire, la tradition de "féminisation" est assez ancienne et elle s'est ultérieurement accentuée. Cela indique combien il est difficile de renverser une tendance lorsqu'il n'y a pas d'interventions réformatrices (et lorsqu'un métier comme celui d'instituteur est mal payé et peu prestigieux). On aurait pu, en fait, s'attendre au moins à une légère inversion de la tendance, justement avec le dépassement ou, du moins, la critique de certains stéréotypes sur le couplage "instinct maternel et vocation à l'enseignement". La loi de

parité de 1977 avait aussi "ouvert" aux garçons l'enseignement dans les écoles maternelles jusque là réservé aux filles[32].

Au secondaire, la "féminisation" correspond à la diffusion de l'image de l'enseignement comme profession "féminine", puisqu'elle permet de restreindre les conflits entre le statut d'épouse (et de mère) et de travailleuse. Mais elle correspond aussi à la diminution du prestige des enseignants qui reçoivent de petits salaires (en comparaison avec d'autres professions auxquelles peuvent accéder les diplômés de l'Université). La très belle enquête, déjà ancienne, de Barbagli et Dei, Le vestali de la classe media (les vestales de la classe moyenne), a très bien montré comment, pour la majorité des hommes, l'enseignement n'est qu'un pis-aller, la première ou la seule possibilité qui s'était présentée après le diplôme universitaire[33].

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32 Rappelons, à titre de curiosité, le film de Marco Ferreri, Cerco Asilo (Pipicacadodo), paru en 1979, après que la "loi de parité" ait permis aux hommes d'exercer la profession d'enseignant d'école maternelle. Le protagoniste, Roberto Benigni, qui devient enseignant dans une maternelle de Bologne, est un garçon qui se trouve confronté au monde de l'enfance (et de la femme).

33 Barbagli, M. et Dei, M. (1972), Le Vestali della classe media, Il Mulino, Bologne. Dans les entretiens, sur 57 hommes, 72% ont choisi d'enseigner comme pis-aller, parce que ce fut la première ou la seule possibilité qui se présente après le diplôme universitaire, 25% par vocation. Sur 317 femmes,

Politiques éducatives et processus de scolarisation féminine en Italie

Le phénomène de la "féminisation" de l'enseignement est généralement présent dans le débat autour des questions éducatives surtout pour les aspects et les conditionnements négatifs qui en découlent. En Italie, la forte présence féminine parmi les enseignants est considérée, d'un côté, comme le produit d'une déqualification de cette profession, de l'autre comme un obstacle à la réalisation d'objectifs de réforme et de qualification de l'école, l'enseignement étant souvent un second choix en matière de travail, par rapport à l'engagement familial et maternel.

> Je veux faire quelques considérations sur ce qui a signifié "la féminisation de l'école secondaire: à mon avis, ça n'a pas été quelque chose de positif (...). Avec des exceptions remarquables, beaucoup de femmes qui enseignent dans l'école secondaire le font comme "second travail": leur premier travail c'est celui de mère et d'épouse. Et elles veulent enseigner à l'école secondaire, parce que c'est un travail à temps partiel qui

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59% déclarent avoir choisi l'enseignement par vocation, et 32% comme pis-aller, 9% des femmes l'ont choisi pour les facilités d'horaire contre 3% chez les hommes. L'étude montre aussi la différente origine de classe (sociale) des hommes et des femmes qui se consacrent à l'enseignement: 33% d'enfants d'ouvriers et de paysans chez les hommes et 10% chez les femmes (contre 7-8% chez les diplômés des universités au moment de l'enquête, autour des années 70). Ces données sont anciennes, mais les tendances restent les mêmes.

> permet d'accomplir les tâches que les maris, que les enfants, et que cette société demandent à la femme, avec comme résultat une grande déqualification de l'instruction et l'impossibilité, en Italie, de considérer une école à plein temps, à cause de l'opposition massive des enseignantes (Fubini, 1987, p.80)

La féminisation produit ainsi un cercle vicieux: un enseignement peu qualifié, peu payé, peu gratifiant, accepté par les femmes, qui sont renforcées dans leur fonction de mères et d'épouses:

> "Un pacte, qui, à l'impossibilité du licenciement et à la tutelle -typique de la culture populaire vis-à-vis de la fonction maternelle- opposait les bas salaires et l'insignifiante qualité professionnelle"[34].

Mais à côté des enseignantes qui ont intériorisé le modèle traditionnel et accepté la tutelle[35], il y a celles qui ont développé une réflexion spécifique, qui part de cette

> école, qui est de plus en plus un lieu de femmes, tant élèves qu'enseignantes, mais où les femmes n'ont pas

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34 Lettera di una professoressa, una proposta a tutte le donne che fanno scuola, un invito ad autorganizzarsi, a cura della Sezione femminile della direzione del PCI, p.8.

35 Le débat sur la condition feminine pour la résolution de ses problèmes spécifiques s'est trouvé confronté à une contradiction entre la soumission de la femme et les actions dites de "tutelle"; la tutelle implique une ambiguité, puisque elle ratifie quelque part une condition d'infériorité. Nous reviendrons sur cette question lorsque nous traiterons des aspects législatifs.

participé, ou le font toujours de manière insignifiante, à la définition des contenus du savoir et des connaissances qui sont transmises (Lettere di una professoressa, p. 5).

Les femmes continuent en fait d'être peu représentées dans les rôles dirigeants de l'administration de l'école. Cette réflexion a souvent lieu à l'intérieur des syndicats, des partis politiques, des organisations de femmes, des organisations d'enseignants, syndicales ou "de mouvements" (les COBAS)[36].

Cette réflexion s'oriente principalement autour de deux axes d'ailleurs imbriqués l'un dans l'autre:

- le rôle de l'enseignante en tant que femme ou la question de la "maestria", afin de remettre en question l'enseignement comme poursuite du rôle maternel, lié à la "nature" féminine: l'enseignement est engagement éducatif qualifié, "professionalità", "travail de médiation culturelle, capacité de gérer les différences et les inégalités, d'interpréter et d'assumer différents besoins de formation, en sachant gérer des conflits relationnels et des demandes affectives"[37];
- le rapport entre les femmes et le savoir dans sa structure conceptuelle et dans son organisation institutionnelle et la transmission d'un savoir qui soit fonctionnel à la croissance civique de la société, une

36 COBAS, comités de base du mouvement enseignant, très actifs en 1988.

37 Lettera di una professoressa, op. cit. pp 12-13.

> société où la différence féminine et les valeurs féminines puissent être reconnues et affirmées".

La question du rapport entre les femmes et le savoir est au coeur du débat mené à l'intérieur de l'"intelligentsia" féminine et féministe, qui explore de plus en plus les transformations épistémologiques du travail féministe dans les sciences humaines et commence aussi à réfléchir sur les implications du travail de femmes en ce qui a trait aux sciences naturelles exactes (Fubini, 1987). Selon Cavarero (1987), les femmes scientifiques dénoncent leur expérience de distance entre leur être concret et la science construite à partir de l'universel masculin.

Or, avec la participation des femmes à la production du savoir, il sera peut-être possible de produire une nouvelle culture qui ne soit pas seulement une culture pour les femmes, mais une culture pour tous. Ce message, développé déjà dans les années 60 par les féministes américaines travaillant dans les Universités (Rose, 1982), a été repris par les Italiennes.

La formation de cette "intelligentsia" féminine et féministe, surtout de formation humaniste, date d'une vingtaine d'années en Italie. Il s'agit donc d'un phénomène relativement récent. Grâce à cette intelligentsia, il y a une production de

connaissances sur les thèmes concernant les femmes, l'histoire, la sociologie, le droit, le développement de domaines de recherche "féminins", qui commencent à s'affirmer à l'intérieur des Universités: là aussi la question de dévalorisation de ce genre d'études, à peine amorcées, se pose malheureusement. Une partie de cette "intelligentsia" travaille dans les Universités, surtout dans les Facultés de Lettres et Sciences Humaines.

Les femmes ont en fait commencé une lente percée dans l'enseignement universitaire même si elles sont encore absentes des carrières les plus prestigieuses et des postes les plus importants (par exemple, il n'y a aucune femme recteur d'Université). Par rapport à il y a trente ans, la présence des femmes dans les Universités a plus que doublé. Les femmes ne constituaient que 1,8% des professeurs d'université en 1951/52, elles sont 6,9% en 1981-82, ce qui est certes encore très faible. Mais c'est surtout aux niveaux inférieurs de l'enseignement universitaires que les femmes ont pu pénétrer: de 5,7% des "incaricati", elles passent en 1981/82 à 24,9%, de 12,9% des assistants qu'elles étaient en 1951-52, elles sont passées à 29,9% en 1981-82. Pour ce qui est des nouvelles "professions"

universitaires, les boursiers et les chercheurs, elles forment respectivement 40,6% et 36,5% des effectifs (Scardozzi, 1984).

Cette progression dans l'enseignement universitaire (globalement les femmes constituent 23,6% des effectifs) est à mettre en relation avec les processus de scolarisation que nous avons mis en évidence. Reste cependant, au niveau universitaire, la division selon les Facultés et selon les filières. La tendance qu'on a remarqué au niveau des étudiantes se retrouve dans l'enseignement universitaire: les professeures continuent à se concentrer dans les Facultés de Lettres et de Sciences de l'Éducation, elles sont moins nombreuses en Sciences Politiques, Économie et Droit, et sont presque absentes des Facultés de Sciences (avec l'exception de la biologie).

Il faut aussi s'interroger sur les circonstances dans lesquelles l'entrée des femmes à l'Université s'est faite: au cours d'une période (les années 70), où d'un côté le mouvement féministe est "à l'attaque", de l'autre, où le recrutement des enseignants universitaires est "en expansion" avec des mécanismes de recrutement particuliers (titularisation de boursiers). Aujourd'hui, le mécanisme de concours ayant été

réintroduit, on assiste peut-être à un coup de frein (Fubini, 1987).

Le rôle de l'"intelligentsia" féminine et féministe dans la définition des politiques n'est pas à négliger, malgré la faible présence des femmes dans les postes de direction dans les partis, les syndicats et les ministères.

7.7 CONCLUSION

Nous avons très rapidement décrit l'évolution de la scolarisation des femmes en Italie, en prêtant attention aux politiques nationales et aux transformations sociales. Nous avons, à plusieurs reprises, insisté sur le fait qu'en Italie se sont les mouvements de masse et, plus en général, les transformations dans les moeurs et dans les mentalités qui ont provoqué des changements dans la législation. Il n'y a jamais eu en Italie une politique volontariste, déterminée à changer les rôles sexuels, à favoriser la scolarisation féminine, ainsi que leur accès dans le marché du travail. Cette absence de politique volontariste différencie l'Italie d'autres pays européens, comme par exemple, la France, ou encore plus, la Suède, où il existe un cadre institutionnel global pour favoriser l'égalité entre les sexes. Cependant, l'accès spectaculaire des filles à

l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur au cours des vingt dernières années, indique une pression très importante provenant de la société civile qui anticipe la législation. Cette dernière serait maintenant nécessaire pour corriger certains déséquilibres, notamment en ce qui concerne l'accès des femmes au marché du travail, cantonnées comme elles le sont dans certains métiers et professions. Il est toutefois important que la dialectique entre législation et transformations sociales reste présente, que les femmes continuent à être actives et fassent des propositions concernant l'école, que le débat reste vivace.

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8. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NATIONAL POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN: THE SITUATION OF JAPAN

Masako Kamijo

The basic national educational policy in Japan is based on the constitution of 1946. The constitution, with basic legislation on education, social life and employment was promulgated under the occupation of the United States in the line of democratisation of Japan as a whole on the recommendation of the United States. The basic law is general in terms of equal educational opportunity. Specific legislation to protect women's rights in education, social life and employment was gradually promulgated, given the pressure of women's organisations and recommendations of international organisations for social change. In this study the contents of general and specific laws, with their implementation, and the effect of this legislation are examined with regard to equal opportunity.

8.1 NATIONAL POLICY AND EDUCATION SYSTEM

8.1.1 THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION OF 1946

In Japan, the Japanese Constitution is the base of all laws. With regard to rights of equal opportunity in education, social life and employment for both sexes, the Constitution prescribed as follows; the basic principles of equality for both sexes

(Article 14), the right to receive an education corresponding to the individual's ability (Article 26), the right of freedom (Article 23), respect for individuals and equality for both sexes in family life (Article 24), the right of freedom to choose an occupation (Article 22), the rights regarding labour and standard of labour conditions (Article 27), the right of organisation for workers (Article 28), and the rights of assembly, organisation and expression (Article 21). Article 26 set forth the basic national educational policy as "All people shall have the right to receive an equal education corresponding to their ability, as provided by law. The people shall be obliged to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free".

In this respect, the following laws were enacted in the spirit of the Constitution. The Fundamental Law of Education of 1947 set forth aims and principles of all levels of education. The School Education Law prescribes provisions of educational administration. The Social Education Law of 1949 regulates the activities of Social Education for youths and adults. The Civil laws and the Labour Standard Law protect social life and employment.

8.1.2 THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF EDUCATION AND RELATED STATUTES

Masako Kamijo

The educational laws may be cited as the Fundamental Law of Education, the School Education Law, the Enforcement Regulations for the School Education Law and the Social Education Law. The fundamental Law of Education sets forth the aims and principles of all areas of education: equal opportunity, compulsory education, co-education, public education, social education, prohibition of partisan political education, secular education in public schools and prohibition of improper control of education. Statements for sexual equality seen in the Law are mutual esteem and co-operation of male and female; not to discriminate on account of sex, race, creed and social status, economic position or family origin; and an encouragement of home education by the state and local public bodies.

The School Education Law states the aims, methods and principles of the education system in detail with provisions for administration, finance and organisation of the formal and informal school system. The Law also indicates the use of textbooks in kindergartens, elementary schools, lower and upper secondary schools. Administration and finance are mentioned later in relation to the implementation of educational policy.

The enforcement Regulations for the School Education Law prescribe general guidelines of the curriculum for

kindergarten, elementary school and lower and upper secondary schools. The ordinance of the Ministry of Education lays down the minimum number of school days per year and names of subjects, as well as the standard number of yearly school hours for each subject in four levels of schools. The Course of Study for each of four school levels issued by the Ministry of Education shows the national guidelines for the curriculum and specifies objectives and the standard content of each subject.

8.1.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

The Ministry of Education, as the principal national agency and an administrative organ, prepares budget estimates and the drafting of educational legislation with the Cabinet and the National Diet. The Prime Minister's Office and other Ministries such as Ministries of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Health and Welfare, Labour, are involved in carrying out its activities.

The Ministry of Education has authority over most national educational and cultural activities. Therefore, the Ministry of Education provides educational ordinances and regulations, implements the national policy, allocates financial aid and supervises institutions and activities direct and indirect.

The education system is decentralised by the Ministry of Education through local boards of education. However, the Ministry of Education is the centre of the formal and informal educational system: administration, finance, organisation, curriculum, teacher education, higher education and adult education. Nurseries come under the control of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. With regard to higher education, the Ministry of Education approves the establishment of public and private higher educational institutions and supervises them.

National policies are formulated and implemented on the national level. In accordance with policy, the Central Council of Education and other special Committees under the Ministry of Education are involved in drafting educational measures. Policies are implemented through local authorities into all levels of national and private educational institutions.

The Ministry of Education authorises text books in accordance with the Enforcement Regulations for the School Education Law. The Course of Study is amended and textbooks are revised to cope with social changes. Institutions of higher education are free to choose textbooks but establishments of new courses, the number of students, recruitments of teaching staff need an approval by the Ministry of Education. The number of credits required for the teaching certificate is prescribed by the Ministry of Education and the national examinations to teach

at public elementary and secondary schools are carried out by Local Education Boards.

In spite of the right to equal opportunity prescribed in educational laws, certain sex discriminations is found in schools and employment. The next section examines the state of implementation of national policies concerning education for girls and women.

8.2 STATE OF EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

Under the laws of equal educational opportunity for males and females, certain discrimination against girls and women have been seen in the school curriculum and the content of textbooks. Moreover, this is largely seen in educational practice. In this section, the present position of girls and women in education is examined with regard to regard to the participation ratio of females in schools, the number of female teachers, sex bias in education and gender stereotyping.

8.2.1 PARTICIPATION RATIO OF GIRLS AND WOMEN IN EDUCATION

The participation ratio of females in all levels of school at present, in comparison with that of males in the 20+ years between 1967 and 1989, may indicate one aspect of a qualitative improvement of education for girls and women.

8.2.1.1 PRESENT NUMBER OF FEMALES IN SCHOOLS

Table 1 indicates the number of students by sex in different types of institutions. As of 1989, the total enrolment in Japanese schools and universities was approximately 26,8 million, which accounted for 21,7% of the total population of Japan in 1989 (Outline of Education in Japan, 1991, p.16). With reference to Table 1, the ratio of males and females at schools from kindergarten to upper secondary schools is not much different. The female ratio was approximately 1,0% lower than of males. The female ratio was lower than that of males in technical colleges (92,8% for males, 7,2% for females). The female ratio was lower in universities (73,6% for males, 24,6% for females) and graduate schools (84,7% for males, 15,3% for females). The female ratio was a little higher than that of males in special training schools and a little lower than that of males in miscellaneous schools. As Table 1 shows, these are places in tertiary education, which offer students the knowledge and skill required for vocation and daily life.

The above information indicates that at present, the participation ratio of females in institutions of general education has been still lower than that of males. The next examination indicates if there was any increase in the proportion of females in schools in the past 20 years.

Table 1: Number of Institutions and Students by Type of Institution (As of May 1989)

Type of Institution	Number of institutions	Number of Students				
		Male	%	Female	%	Total
Kindergartens	15 080	1 036 613	50,9	1 001 001	49,1	2 037 614
Elementary schools	24 851	4 919 104	51,2	4 687 523	48,8	9 606 627
Lower Secondary schools	11 264	2 875 400	51,2	2 743 897	48,8	5 619 297
Technical colleges	62	48 213	92,8	3 752	7,2	51 966
Junior colleges	584	40 985	8,9	420 864	91,1	461 849
Universities[1]	499	1 521 721	73,6	545 241	26,4	2 066 962
Graduate schools[2]	303	72 187	84,7	13 076	15,3	85 263
Special schools for Handicap.	938	59 408	62,5	35 600	37,5	95 008
Special training schools	3 254	350 811	47,3	390 871	52,7	741 682
Miscellaneous schools	3 570	223 802	50,6	218 384	49,4	442 186
TOTAL	65 613	13 918 679		12 848 888		26 767 567

1 In addition to these, there was a University of the Air enrolling 26 076 students. Of the total students 13 263 (50,9%) were men and 12 813 (49,1%) women.

2 The number of institutions represents the number of universities having a graduate school. The number of students in graduate schools represents university students enrolled in Master's courses or Doctor's courses (The number of students in universities includes the enrollment in graduate schools.)

8.2.1.2 HISTORICAL TRENDS OF PARTICIPATION RATIO OF FEMALES IN EDUCATION

With the reference to Table 2-a, the ratio of 5-years olds enrolled in kindergartens in the past 20 years between 1969 and 1989 has increased 12,2%.The percentage of school age children enrolled in elementary and lower secondary schools has been nearly 100% in this period. The ratio of increase was only 0,16% for elementary schools and 0,09% for lower secondary schools.

In the 20 years between 1969 and 1989, the increased ratio of female participation was 18,9% in upper secondary schools, 20,7% in universities, reaching 36.8% in 1989. The percentage of female university graduates going on to graduate schools has also increased 1,25 over this period, and was 3,55 in 1989. In comparison whith the ratio of males and females, even these improvements did not change the position that the ratio of females in all these institutions of higher education was still lower than that of males. Moreover, Table 1 shows that the majority of female students were in junior colleges (90,8%), while the majority of male students were in Universities (73,65) in 1989.

Higher or lower enrolment of females in institutions of higher education and technical colleges is related to the nature of subject and types of institution. This will be discussed in detail later. At any rate, the advancement ratio of women in

Table 2-a: Historical Trends in the Proportion of the Age Group Enrolled in Educational Institutions of each Level and in the Proportion of Students going on to Institutions of Senior Level

Proportion of the Age Group Enrolled in Kibdergartens and Compulsory schools, and the Proportion of Students Going on to Upper Secondary Schools

Year	Percent of 5-year olds enrolled in Kindergartens[2]	Percent of school age children enrolled in		Percent of students going on to upper secondary schools[1]		
		Elementary	Lower secondary	Total	Male	Female
1948	7,3	99,64	99,27			
49	8,9	99,63	99,08			
50	8,9	99,64	99,20	42,5	48,0	36,7
1951		99,72	99,47	45,6	51,4	39,6
52	12,1	99,72	99,51	47,6	52,9	42,1
53	14,0	99,75	99,91	48,3	52,7	43,7
54	17,1	99,75	99,91	50,9	55,1	46,5
55	20,1	99,77	99,92	51,5	55,5	47,4
1956	21,8	99,78	99,91	51,3	55,0	47,6
57	23,6	99,79	99,93	51,4	54,3	48,4

1 The percentage represents the proportion of lower secondary school graduates in March of each year going on to upper secondary schools (include short coursews. Include correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) and colleges of technology.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of the first grade pupils in each year who have completed a kindergarten course.

Year	Percent of 5-year olds enrolled in Kindergartens[2]	Percent of school age children enrolled in		Percent of students going on to upper secondary schools[1]		
		Elementary	Lower secondary	Total	Male	Female
58	25,2	99,81	99,93	53,7	56,2	51,1
59	26,8	99,82	99,93	55,4	57,5	53,2
60	28,7	99,82	99,93	57,7	59,6	55,9
1961	31,1	99,82	99,93	62,3	63,8	60,7
62	33,0	99,82	99,92	64,0	65,5	62,5
63	36,4	99,82	99,92	66,8	68,4	65,1
64	38,9	99,81	99,91	69,3	70,6	67,9
65	41,3	99,81	99,91	70,7	71,7	69,6
1966	44,2	99,82	99,90	72,3	73,5	71,2
67	47,2	99,83	99,90	74,5	75,3	73,7

1 The percentage represents the proportion of lower secondary school graduates in March of each year going on to upper secondary schools (include short coursews. Include correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) and colleges of technology.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of the first grade pupils in each year who have completed a kindergarten course.

Year	Percent of 5-year olds enrolled in Kindergartens[2]	Percent of school age children enrolled in		Percent of students going on to upper secondary schools[1]		
		Elementary	Lower secondary	Total	Male	Female
68	49,4	99,83	99,90	76,8	77,0	76,5
69	51,8	99,83	99,90	79,4	79,2	79,5
70	53,8	99,83	99,89	82,1	81,6	82,7
1971	56,2	99,83	99,89	85,0	84,1	85,9
72	58,3	99,85	99,89	87,2	86,2	88,2
73	60,6	99,87	99,89	89,4	88,3	90,6
74	61,9	99,89	99,90	90,8	89,7	91,9
75	63,5	99,91	99,91	91,9	91,0	93,0
1976	64,0	99,92	99,92	92,6	91,7	93,5
77	64,1	99,93	99,93	93,1	92,2	94,0

1 The percentage represents the proportion of lower secondary school graduates in March of each year going on to upper secondary schools (include short coursews. Include correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) and colleges of technology.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of the first grade pupils in each year who have completed a kindergarten course.

Year	Percent of 5-year olds enrolled in Kindergartens[2]	Percent of school age children enrolled in		Percent of students going on to upper secondary schools[1]		
		Elementary	Lower secondary	Total	Male	Female
78	64,1	99,94	99,94	93,5	92,7	94,4
79	64,4	99,98	99,98	94,0	93,0	95,0
80	64,4	99,98	99,98	94,2	93,1	95,4
1981	64,4	99,98	99,99	94,3	93,2	95,4
82	64,0	99,99	99,98	94,3	93,2	95,5
83	63,8	99,99	99,99	94,0	92,8	95,2
84	63,9	99,99	99,99	94,1	93,0	95,3
85	63,7	99,99	99,99	94,1	93,1	95,3
1986	63,6	99,99	99,98	94,2	93,1	95,3
87	63,6	99,99	99,98	94,3	93,2	95,4
88	63,7	99,99	99,99	94,5	93,4	95,7
89	64,0	99,99	99,99	94,7	93,6	95,9

1 The percentage represents the proportion of lower secondary schoo graduates in March of each year going on to upper secondary schools (include short coursews. Include correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) and colleges of technology.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of the first grade pupils in each year who have completed a kindergarten course.

institutions of higher education was not much lower than that of males, which shows that once they are in the institutions women are educated as well as males.

8.2.1.3 NUMBER OF FEMALE TEACHERS

Table 3 shows the number of teachers by sex in different types of school. It indicates, as of 1989, that the ratio of female teachers was higher than that of male teachers in kindergartens (93,8%), elementary schools (57,5%) and special training schools (50,3%). The ratio of female and male teachers was nearly even in special schools for the handicapped (50%). The ratio of female teachers was lower than that of male teachers in miscellaneous schools (38,6%), junior colleges (38,3%), upper secondary schools (20,1%), universities (9%) and technical colleges (1,2%).

With the reference to Table 3 and the Survey on Educational Statistics (1990), in the 19 years between 1970 and 1989, the ratio of female teachers increased, except miscellaneous schools and junior colleges. The ratio of the increase was 0,1% in kindergartens, 6,6% in elementary schools, 10,8% in special schools for the handicapped, 1,3% in junior colleges, 0,5% in universities and 0,75 in technical colleges. On the other hand, the ratio of female teachers decreased by 9,8% in special schools and 1,35 in junior colleges.

Table 2-b Historical trends in the Proportion of the Age Group Enrolled in Educational Institutions of Each Level and in the Proportion of Students going on to Institutions of Senior Level.

Proportion of Upper Secondary School Graduates going on to Institutions of Higher Education, etc.

YEAR	Percent of upper secondary school graduates going on to higher education[3]			Percent of the age group going on to higher education[1]			Percent of university graduates going on to graduate schools[2]		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1950	30,3	34,6	17,2						
1951	23,6	30,1	12,9						
52	21,6	26,9	13,0						
53	21,5	25,4	15,7	10,1	15,3	4,6			
54	19,7	23,3	14,7	10,1	15,0	5,0			
55	18,4	20,9	14,9	9,8	14,7	4,9			
1956	16,0	18,7	12,5	11,2	16,8	5,4			
57	16,1	18,2	13,3	10,7	16,0	5,2			
58	16,5	19,0	13,3	10,1	15,0	5,1			
59	16,9	19,6	13,8						

1 The percentage was calculated by dividing each year's number of entrants to universities (degree-granting courses only) and junior colleges (regular courses only) by the number of lower secondary school graduates of three years ago.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of university graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered graduate schools (of Doctor's courses in the case of those who finished an undergraduate course in medicine or dentistry).

3 The percentage represents the proportion of upper secondary school graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered universities (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter), junior colleges (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) or advanced courses at upper secondary schools.

YEAR	Percent of upper secondary school graduates going on to higher education[3]			Percent of the age group going on to higher education[1]			Percent of university graduates going on to graduate schools[2]		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
60	17,2	19,7	14,2	10,3	14,9	5,5			
1961	17,9	20,2	15,3	11,8	16,9	6,5			
62	19,3	21,9	16,5	12,8	18,1	7,4			
63	20,9	23,8	17,8	15,4	21,7	9,0			
64	23,4	26,9	19,6	19,9	27,9	11,6			
65	25,4	30,1	20,4	17,0	22,4	11,3	4,2	4,7	1,9
1966	24,5	28,2	20,6	16,1	20,2	11,8	5,2	5,7	2,3
67	23,7	26,1	21,1	17,9	22,2	13,4	5,0	5,5	2,4
68	23,1	24,7	21,4	19,2	23,8	14,4	4,8	5,3	2,4
69	23,2	24,1	22,3	21,4	26,6	16,1	4,9	5,5	2,3

1 The percentage was calculated by dividing each year's number of entrants to universities (degree-granting courses only) and junior colleges (regular courses only) by the number of lower secondary school graduates of three years ago.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of university graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered graduate schools (of Doctor's courses in the case of those who finished an undergraduate course in medicine or dentistry).

3 The percentage represents the proportion of upper secondary school graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered universities (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter), junior colleges (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) or advanced courses at upper secondary schools.

YEAR	Percent of upper secondary school graduates going on to higher education[3]			Percent of the age group going on to higher education[1]			Percent of university graduates going on to graduate schools[2]		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
70	24,2	25,0	23,5	23,6	29,2	17,7	4,4	5,1	1,5
1971	26,8	27,6	25,9	26,8	32,5	20,8	3,8	4,4	1,5
72	29,2	30,0	28,4	29,8	35,7	23,7	4,0	4,6	1,7
73	31,2	31,6	30,8	32,2	37,5	26,6	4,2	4,7	1,7
74	32,2	32,2	32,2	34,7	39,9	29,3	4,0	4,6	1,6
75	34,2	33,8	34,6	37,8	43,0	32,4	4,3	5,1	1,7
1976	33,9	32,8	35,1	38,6	43,3	33,6	4,4	5,2	1,6
77	33,2	32,2	34,3	37,7	41,9	33,3	4,2	5,0	1,6
78	32,8	31,9	33,7	38,4	43,1	33,5	4,0	4,7	1,6
79	31,9	30,5	33,4	37,4	41,5	33,1	3,8	4,5	1,6

1 The percentage was calculated by dividing each year's number of entrants to universities (degree-granting courses only) and junior colleges (regular courses only) by the number of lower secondary school graduates of three years ago.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of university graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered graduate schools (of Doctor's courses in the case of those who finished an undergraduate course in medicine or dentistry).

3 The percentage represents the proportion of upper secondary school graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered universities (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter), junior colleges (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) or advanced courses at upper secondary schools.

YEAR	Percent of upper secondary school graduates going on to higher education[3]			Percent of the age group going on to higher education[1]			Percent of university graduates going on to graduate schools[2]		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
79	31,9	30,5	33,4	37,4	41,5	33,1	3,8	4,5	1,6
80	31,9	30,3	33,5	37,4	41,3	33,3	3,9	4,7	1,6
1981	31,4	29,7	33,1	36,9	40,5	33,0	4,1	4,9	1,7
82	30,9	28,9	32,8	36,3	39,8	32,7	4,5	5,3	2,1
83	30,1	27,7	32,4	35,1	37,9	32,2	4,9	5,8	2,1
84	29,6	26,6	32,6	35,6	38,3	32,8	5,2	6,2	2,3
85	30,5	27,0	33,9	37,6	40,6	34,5	5,5	6,5	2,5
1986	30,3	26,4	34,1	34,7	35,9	33,5	5,7	6,7	2,8
87	31,0	26,7	35,3	36,1	37,1	35,1	6,0	7,1	2,9
88	30,9	25,7	36,2	36,7	37,2	36,2	6,1	7,3	2,7
89	30,7	24,6	36,7	36,3	35,8	36,8	6,7	7,9	3,5

1 The percentage was calculated by dividing each year's number of entrants to universities (degree-granting courses only) and junior colleges (regular courses only) by the number of lower secondary school graduates of three years ago.

2 The percentage represents the proportion of university graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered graduate schools (of Doctor's courses in the case of those who finished an undergraduate course in medicine or dentistry).

3 The percentage represents the proportion of upper secondary school graduates in March of each year who, in April of the same year, entered universities (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter), junior colleges (including short courses for every year and correspondence courses for 1984 and thereafter) or advanced courses at upper secondary schools.

8.2.2.SEX BIAS IN EDUCATION

Sex bias in education is examined with regard to the Course of Study in the official curriculum and in types of educational institution, with regard to the nature of courses and subjects.

8.2.2.1 CURRICULUM: COURSE OF STUDIES

In the highly industrialised society, being transformed for the 21st century, the Special Council for Education was organised in 1984 to reform education and its Report was published in 1987. It dealt with issues relating to the internationalisation of education and the advancement of information and technology, then made recommendations in the area of moral education, individuality and life-long education. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law was enacted in 1986. The Report and the Law did not deal directly with education for girls and women. However, they affected the amendment of the "Course of Study" of 1989.

There was sex discrimination in the required subjects of "Home economics and techniques" and "Gymnastics" in lower and upper secondary schools. The amended Course of Study focused on equal roles in life for both sexes, eliminated the sex discrimination in the above subjects and introduced new subjects accordingly (Yamaguchi, 1989).

As general policy, the new subject of "life studies" for first and second grades of elementary schools has the aim that

children learn necessary customs and techniques for daily life, e. g. greeting, arrangement of personal belongings, in order for boys and girls to become independent. The new subject of "civics" in the lower secondary school also promotes the formation of the human being.

Regarding sex discrimination, there were required subjects separately for boys and girls. In the lower secondary school, "Bujyutsu" (traditional military arts) was the required subject for boys and "dancing" was the required subject for girls. In the upper secondary school,"budo" (traditional military arts) was the required subject for boys and "dancing" was the required subject for girls. The amended Course of Study eliminated such discrimination and introduced a new way,under which either one or the other subject can be elected regardless of sex (ibid, p.28).

In lower secondary school, the amended Course of Study introduced a new subject area, "family life" as the basic knowledge for both sexes. Within the subject of techniques and home economics, "wood- working", "electricity", and "family life" are made required area subjects for both sexes (ibid, 28-34).

In the upper secondary school, competence and practical attitudes necessary for occupations and family life were focused on "home economics" and consumer life, the role of a

Table 3: Number of Teachers and Other Personnel by Type of School (as of May 1989).

Type of school	Number of teachers			% of women teachers	Number of other personnel	% distribution of teacher by:		
	TOTAL	Men	Women			National	Local public	Private
Kindergartens	100 407	6 274	94 133	93,8	20 859	0,3	25,4	74,3
Elementary schools	45 450	189 105	256 345	57,5	106 572	0,4	99,0	0,6
Lower secondary school	286 301	184 173	102 128	35,7	41 509	0,5	96,2	3,2
Upper secondary school	284 461	227 276	57 185	20,1	65 166	0,2	77,1	22,7
Technical colleges	3 954	3 906	48	1,2	3 421	86,7	8,8	4,5
Junior colleges	19 830	12 232	7 598	38,3	12 309	6,4	10,1	83,5
Universities	121 140	110 278	10 862	9,0	159 894	43,9	5,3	50,8
Special school handicap	43 300	20 984	22 316	51,5	15 281	3,1	96,2	0,7
Special training school	30 277	15 058	15 219	50,3	14 430	2.5	6,0	91,5
Miscellaneous schools	19 840	12 183	7 657	38,6	8 823	0,0	2,6	97,4
TOTAL	1 354 960	781 469	573 491	42,3	448 264	4,8	74,8	20,4

parent, the way of life for youth, life and welfare for the aged, were added to the content (ibid, p.34). Students must study one out of three areas of "general home economics", "techniques for life" and "general life". Yet, "general home economics" is to be the required area subject for all girls, although it is an elective area subject for boys: this can still be a discrimination against girls (ibid, p.35).

8.2.2.2 TYPE OF INSTITUTION AND NATURE OF COURSE AND SUBJECT

The Survey on Educational Statistics (1990, p.54) shows that females tend to choose feminine subjects and males, masculine subjects, when there are options. This tendency is related to types of institution such as vocational and technical courses of the secondary school and feminine courses predominantly offered in junior colleges and universities of technology or medicine.

Vocational education is provided in upper secondary schools, colleges of technology (3 years upper secondary education and 2 years of college), special training schools and miscellaneous schools. The following statistics indicate the existence of sex bias in the vocational course in terms of the educational structure and the choice of subject by females.

As of 1989, among students who enrolled in secondary schools, 74% were in the general course and the rest were in

courses of vocational and other types. The Survey of Educational Statistics (1990, pp. 54 & 55) shows that the ratio of females in the former was 51%. Where structure is concerned, among vocational courses there are coeducational schools and single-sex schools: male schools tend to offer courses for industry, agriculture and fisheries, and female schools tend to offer home economics and arts. The above Survey indicated that female students tended to specialise more in home economics (98,7%), business studies (68,6%) and welfare (99,9%) than in agriculture (32,2%), fisheries (9,9%) and industry (3,8%). The proportion of females in the college of technology (2 years after secondary school) was only 7,2%.

The Report on the State on Women's Labour (1988, p.52) stated that female students specialized the most in Human Sciences (35,9%); next follow Social Sciences (16,4%), Education (16,1%), Health (9,3%), Home Economics (7,4%), Arts (6,4%), Natural Sciences (2,4%), Engineering (2,3%) and Agriculture (2,1%). In comparison with 10 years ago, there was not much change found in the number of female university students specialising in Human Sciences, although a little increase was seen in Technology (1,4%), Social Sciences (1,1%) as well as Sciences and Agriculture. On the other hand, a little decrease was found in Education (3,4%) and Homemaking.

In universities the majority of female students specialised in Human sciences, Homemaking and Arts, while in junior colleges, the number of female students exceeded that of male students in all departments, except in the department of Industry (Survey of Educational Statistics, 1990, p.76)

8.2.2.3 GENDER STEREOTYPING

Gender stereotyping has been traditional in Japan and the value of the female is still regarded as lower than that of the male at home, school and in society at large. Gender stereotyping is found in types of school, courses of studies and students' choice of courses or subjects. The image of suitable subjects for males and females still remains, such as dancing for females and technical subjects for males. Gender stereotypes are also found in the content of text books, and educational practice.

Gender stereotypes have been examined in the following text books of the first grade of elementary schools: Arithmetic (Kodaira, 1989), Physical Education (Hamada, 1989), and Japanese language (Ishimori, 1989). Explanatory pictures in these text books indicated mothers to be at home and fathers to work outside. Some of these examples are a mother serving lunch at home, going for a walk with her child, pushing a wheel chair for her child, going out for shopping for meals, cooking at home, washing clothes and helping a child change clothes. On

the other hand, pictures showed a father going to work and working in business. Persons driving a car were all male. Folk tales also indicated a stereotyped role for men and women. The above textbooks certainly introduced stereotyping roles of parents and males and females. Some girls at elementary schools began questioning why only mothers cook or wash at home.

The traditional gender stereotyping certainly begins with separating boys and girls with the idea that boys come before girls, for boys are regarded as superior to girls (Asahi, 7, 12, 1989). Such examples are seen in lists of pupils' names, various school activities, an arrangement of their seats in class etc...

According to the Asahi (7, 12, 1989), most schools make separate lists of children's names for boys and girls. They are used for various purposes such as to check children's attendance, an assessment of their work, the state of their family, their medical examination and father's occupation. The lists are also used to decide pupils' seats in class by the order of the name list. For example, boys are made to sit on the right side of the class room and girls on the left side. It can be argued it is as if there were a boys' school and a girls' school in one class. As a result, communication between boys and girls cannot take place properly. Lining up in activities of Gymnastics is separated by a boys' line and a girls' line.

The same idea of stereotyping is seen in the case of teachers and pupils' parents. Separate name lists for male and female teachers and parents are made. These are used to check teachers' attendance, to allocate their lockers, to decide the order of making a speech for teachers leaving school and new teachers. A list of parents is represented by names of pupils' fathers with their occupation. Letters and notices from school are addressed to a child's father. The Asahi commented that such a sexual stereotyping has been practised unconsciously. The above cases show that the traditional gender stereotyping still remains in practice.

In spite of the increase of enrollment of females in schools and higher institutions as well as the increase of female teachers in these institutions, certain sex discriminations still remain in curriculum, text books, structure and educational practice. The state of education of females and employment of women has been affected by legislation which intended to protect women's rights in education, social life and employment. The next section focuses on specific legislation for women.

8.3 LEGISLATION INTENDED TO PROTECT WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN EDUCATION, SOCIAL LIFE AND EMPLOYMENT

A policy to protect girls and women began with the enactment of the Social Education Law of 1949 and the nation's economic rehabilitation by 1955. The economic development increased the standard of life, women's access to higher education and the labour force of women. The changes in the development of society and the life of women presented new needs for life-long education for women, who prepare for their diversified roles as housewife, mother, worker and citizen in the changing society. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women of 1986 is the most recent legislation among specific laws to promote the welfare, social life and employment of girls and women.

8.3.1 SOCIAL EDUCATION LAW OF 1949

The Social Education Law aims to clarify the roles of the national and local public bodies on social education. The term "social education" here is used as a general term for organised educational activities including those for physical education and recreation, mainly for adults and young people, other than those provided in the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education (Women's

Education in Japan, 1988).The national and local public bodies must try to provide public facilities and to carry out activities for social education. Major public facilities include citizens' centres and women's education centres. The nation gives financial aids to these bodies.

8.3.2 SPECIFIC LAWS TO PROTECT MOTHERS AND WORKING WOMEN

The following laws came into existence as a reflection of women's voices along with social change and recommendations of the United Nations. The Prostitution Prevention Law (1956), the Widowed Mother and Child Welfare Law (1964), the Consumer Protection Basic Law (1968), Law Concerning Child Care Leave Granted to Women Teachers in Compulsory Education Schools, and Nurses, Day Nurses, etc... in Medical and Social Welfare Facilities, etc... (1976).

It had been a serious problem for a child who was born of a Japanese mother and a foreign father, that such a child could not have Japanese citizenship. The Nationality Law was amended (1984) and the consanguinean nationality was adjusted to the nationality of both parents. According to this Law, such a child could get either Japanese nationality or the nationality of the child's father. This Law gave equal rights to both a child and a Japanese mother.

K. Higuchi (Asahi, 25, 1, 1989) commented that the amended Nationality Law and the Equal Opportunity Law for Men and Women of 1986 required an amendment of the Course of Studies, in which both male and female should study Home Economics in secondary school. In fact, this was realized in the amended Course of Studies of 1989.

8.3.3 EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY LAW OF 1986

Several conditions of social change in a decade, such as the increase of women in universities, the needs of women in leading positions, and international movements for promoting the education and work of women - the United Nations Decade for Women and the related conferences and recommendations - facilitated the enactment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1986.

Women, even when they were educated and eligible to work equally with men, were regarded as lower than men and discriminated against in terms of job opportunity, appropriate position, type and content of work, salary, promotion, working hours, terms of retirement and other working conditions. The health and welfare of women and the conditions needed for women to work were neglected and child care and house work had to be done by women. Yet in these circumstances the social demand for women to work and women's wish to work have been increasing. However, women were faced with complex

problems here. In order to cope with these women's problems, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1986 was enacted.

The Law consists of general provisions, facilitation for securing equal opportunity and treatment for men and women in the field of employment, and measures for supporting work for women. In the light of the Constitution which guarantees equality of men and women under the Law, Japanese Law in Force (1989, pp. 2726, 2728) states that this Law aims to facilitate securing equal opportunity and treatment for men and women in the field of employment; to promote measures for the development of job ability and promotion, for the support of re-employment and for harmonizing the life of work and home for women; to try to increase welfare and an elevation of status for working women.

Responsibilities of national, local bodies and employers for realizing the aims of the Law were prescribed in detail. The measures to give equal opportunity for working women included advertisement and recruitment, position and promotion, educational training, welfare and health, retirement and dismissal, voluntary settlement of disputes and support for disputants. In order to facilitate the measures, a Dispute Settlement Committee for Equal Opportunity is to be placed in the women's and minors' offices of all local boards, and local public bodies must try to establish a house for working

women to provide for their various consultations. In relation to the Law, the Labour Standard Law was amended in 1989; provisions here were relaxed to allow women to do extra work. The way in which women are affected by the provisions is discussed later.

The movement for the enactment of legislation and the creation of organisations for women's affairs were in the line of democratisation of all systems from 1945, together with social change. In addition to social change, "the United Nations Decade for Women" facilitated giving attention to female issues in education, welfare and employment on the official level as well as at private levels. Pressure to sign the Discrimination Abolition Treaty of the United Nations Decade for Women brought inevitably the enactments of legislations and amendments of provisions on sexual discrimination such as the Parents' Nationality, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, the amendment of the Labour Standard Law, the total revision of the Provisions for Nursing Guide and the elimination of an unequal curriculum for females in the Course of Study.

8.4 IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIFIC POLICIES FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

Based on the Social Education Law, the Women's Education Division of the Ministry of Education promotes women's

education for the young and for adults and the Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Labour has the purpose of protecting women's social life and employment. With the above Women's Bureau, the implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law on the official level is carried out by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

8.4.1 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,WOMEN'S EDUCATION DIVISION

In a society where women are expected to play more diverse roles, women's education has become a most important subject in the field of social education. In this climate, the Social Education Law of 1949 was intended to protect women's rights in education, social life and employment on national and local levels under the supervision of the Women's Education Division, the Ministry of Education. The major purposes of women's education are stated as follows (Women's Education in Japan, p.129).

1) Women as community members are to develop citizenship,
2) women as workers are to develop responsibility and workmanship,
3) women as home workers are to update their knowledge and skills in home management,
4) women as mothers are to develop ability in the care and education of their children.

The administration of women's education is conducted at the national and local levels by administrative officers with social education qualifications. In 1984, there were 6 605 such officers carrying out duties as planners, programmers and promoters of social education (Ohno, p.130). Public establishments and facilities are citizens' Public Halls, libraries, museums, audio-visual centers, women's education centers, etc... They provide services for the educational and cultural needs of women including the organization of lecture and discussion meetings, varieties of study courses, art exhibitions, film shows, athletic meetings, etc...

The National Women's Education Centre is an institution for social education founded in 1977. Its purpose is to promote women's education through the practical training of leaders in women's education as well as to conduct specialized research in the women's education field. The Centre provides a place for study and encourages women's continued voluntary study. It also provides a place for exchange among those concerned with women's education, both inside and outside Japan, and collects and distributes information concerning women's education.

Major programmes of women's education are as follows:

1) women's classes,
2) parents' education classes,
3) adult education classes,
4) senior citizens' classes,

5) computer literacy courses,
6) parent education guidance programmes,
7) integrated programmes on family education,
8) women's international exchange festivals,
9) experience and information exchange programmes,
10) upper secondary school open lecture courses,
11) university extension courses,
12) university of the air (Ohno,131-136).

There are leader-training courses for women and field study tours for women.

The Ministry of Education has prepared parent education handbooks: "Today's Home Education for Babies and Infants", 1985, and "Today's Home Education for Elementary School Children", 1987. The administration of women's education is conducted at the national and local levels by the Ministry of Education and various programmes of women's education have been carried out nationwide. The Ministry of Education has been extending the financial assistance to the programmes with social and public significance undertaken by women's organisations.

8.4.2 MINISTRY OF LABOUR, WOMEN'S BUREAU

The Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Labour has been implementing policies for women such as the United Nations Decade, the Social Education Law, especially the Equal Employment Opportunity Law. The Women's Bureau has been

holding "Women's weeks" to urge both men and women to beware of reviving the stereotyped view of women's ability, and prejudice against women based on traditional views of sex roles (State of Women's Labour, 1988, p.72). For this purpose, the Women's Bureau takes the initiative to carry out meetings and consultations nationwide in order to promote women's status, sharing roles, better working conditions for women, and women's participation in political and administrative fields.

8.4.3 MINISTRY OF LABOUR

The Ministry of Labour has induced individual enterprises to place "a person in charge of promoting equal opportunity", who checks sexual discriminations in each enterprise (Asahi, 31, 5, 1988). A voluntary check list with 60 questions is to be completed for the Ministry of Labour. This person has another role, to contact Women's and Minors' Bureaux of Local Boards. The Ministry of Labour would recommend Chiefs of personnel and labour enterprises to take this responsible position. The implementation started from June 1988. There is anxiety about its success, for the responsible persons are most likely to be men.

8.4.4 MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND WELFARE

The Ministry of Health and Welfare is implementing the Equal Employment Law for Men and Women (Asahi, 16, 3,

1990). The Ministry implemented the Amendment of Nursing Provision which was presented by the Nursing Committee for the Counterplan of the Council of Central Welfare for the Child. This was the first major amendment of the provision as a whole since it had first been adopted twenty five years earlier in 1965. The increase in infants' care was to cope with the increase of working mothers.

Contents of the programmes of the Women's Education Division of the Ministry of Education seemed to focus on the equal share of men and women at home and society. However, both in theory and practice traditional and modern views of women seem to co-exist. In theory women are expected to play multiple roles. In practice, the social recognition of women as equal to men is very low and insufficient facilities to care for children or the burden of house work for working women are widely seen. Other Ministries have been implementing their own area of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (for men and women). Other agencies to help education and employment for women are stated in the next section.

6.5 OTHER AGENCIES TO HELP EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Many private women's organizations are interested in policies of education and the employment of women in general,

although others, like some labour unions, focused on sex discrimination.

5.5.1 WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

According to Women's Education in Japan (p.139), about 30,000 women's clubs and associations are organized throughout the country. Approximately 8.9 million women are members of women's organizations, which accounted for 20% of the total number of eligible women voters in 1986. The aims and activities of these organizations have become diversified, although many women's organizations are interested in not only problems of education, culture and welfare of the community and family but also women's employment and political affairs. Recently the establishing of women's networks, study meetings of women and voluntary women's groups have been increasing tremendously. Some prominent women's organizations are introduced below.

J.A.F.E. (Japan Association of Female Executives) is an association of women to improve themselves by seminars with guest speakers, exchanging information, courses to improve women's ability, providing babysitter systems etc. (Asahi, 18, 4, 1988). It was established in 1985 for women holding positions in management and as professionals. One out of a hundred women holds such a position in Japan; so that this Association could help women wishing to be promoted to higher positions of

employment. As of 1990, the number of regular and associate J.A.F.E. members was 263.

The "Women's Network" was established in March, 1990. It consists of 70 women including initiators such as members of the Diet and lawyers (Asahi, 19, 3, 1990). After the National Railways Corporation turned into several private railways corporations, about 1600 staff including 30 women could not be re-employed by these corporations. As a result, they were part of the Adjustment Enterprise Organization of the National Railways Corporation. They were to be discharged if they could not be re-employed by the related corporation by the first of April, 1990. The 30 women are members of the National Labour Union, they have been discriminated against dually in their re-employment, for they are women. The aim of this women's organization is to support these 30 women. The "Women's Network" announced a joint statement on such discrimination against these women in order not to ignore women's rights. Women were not regarded as equal to men as workers, because they were considered to be only the second suppliers of household income. The members proposed to expand this problem as a women's issue.

In the Weekly Educational Brain (1990, p.9), the "Women's Press Group" drew attention to problems of discrimination against women through translating and publishing foreign

literatures and articles. 'Girls were brought up from their birth in the hidden curriculum for girls to be gentle and obedient at home and school, which is the root of discrimination'. The Group introduced the 'Adventure of Princess Alice', for Alice lived independently without man's help, and 'Sexual harassment in work and its measures' by the British Civil Rights Council. These two pieces of literature arouse sympathy among many women.

Studies on the local history of women and their publication have had attention from the public. The fifth "Local women's history exchange study meeting" was held in March 1989 (Asahi, 29, 3, 1989). Presentations of studies on women's history have given women advice on how to live in the present changing society.

Not only women but also men who wish to participate both in work and rearing children have been increasing in numbers. Members, both men and women, of the "Society for considering consciousness of sexual roles" are making concrete plans to create a society in which both men and women participate (Asahi, 28, 1, 1988). Problems of fathers rearing children and mothers rearing children have been increasing. Some professors, having attended the "Meeting for men", commented in their writing on "Rearing infants" as follows: the social idea of rearing infants, based on the mothering myth, needs to

be overturned for men to rear infants (Asahi, 12, 3, 1989). The women's group "Enfantes" of 700 members was formed 14 years ago to research by babysitting and by issuing monthly reports: it then published "Escape from rearing infants" (Asahi, 10, 5, 1989). The activities of the group affected men's cooperation in women's work and in rearing infants, and the establishment of public nurseries.

A unique "women's network" for housewives provided many with meeting places to enjoy their life through study, hobbies and volunteer work (Asahi, 25, 11, 1988). The organizer is positive that it will change not only female society but also male society, for the era when males cannot remain in the Japanese traditional "life long employment system" could come and the many men who found no place to go to would participate in this network.

The above women's organizations may indicate that some men are now considering it is necessary to rear children, while more women work outside and try to gain an appropriate job. Both indicate a softening of gender stereotypes.

8.5.2 POLITICAL PARTIES

The editorial of the Asahi (15, 4, 1989) commented favourably on women's progressive activities in society in every respect and recommended men to be more independent in daily life in

order to create a family for both man and woman. However, it criticized the fact that politics still belongs to the men's world. The ratio of women members in political parties is lower than that of men, more women should participate in politics. According to the survey by the Prime Minister's Office, the Asahi stated that the ratio of women members in 1988 was 6% in the Democratic-socialist Party, 10% in the Socialist Party, 33% in the Liberal Democratic Party, 38% in the Communist Party and 42% in the Komei Party.

Political parties are interested in education at large, although none of them specifically proposed policies on education, employment and social life for women. At least the New Liberal Club Party proposed education for fathers and education for mothers as part of social education in communities. The Socialist Party is particularly interested in increasing the number of women members in the Diet and local boards, for the head of the Socialist Party is a woman (Asahi, 7, 4, 90).

8.5.3 TRADE UNIONS

The State of Women's Labour publication (p.27) stated the ratio of women members according to the structures of industry. As of 1987 the ratio of women who are members of labour unions accounted for 27,6%, which ratio has been stable in recent years. The lower ratio of women members of labour

unions was due to women working largely in smaller enterprises and the tertiary sector where the ratio of organizing labour unions was lower. Again, women working on a part time basis have been increasing and they are not eligible for memberhip of labour unions. Women's membership of labour unions in service occupations was 16,7% and 8,2% in restaurants.

Based on the labour Standard Law, labour unions are active in improving women's working conditions. The "Association" of private labour unions and the General Council of Trade Unions at the meeting in April 1989 adopted an appeal to realize the Law of Child Care Leave and the Labour Law on the occasion of celebrating the third anniversary of the enactment of the "Equal Employment Opportunity Law" (Asahi, 15, 4, 1989). The Labour Union of Electrical Machinery decided to introduce the system of child-care leave and 15 big companies out of 17 adopted the system (Asahi, 1, 2, 1990).

The general Japan Private Labour Union carried out a survey of the effect of the Equal Opportunity Law for Men and Women and reported on it at the Central Women's Meeting (Asahi, 19, 5, 1989). Over 60% of member unions (1.813 unions) answered the questionnaire. Some findings were that equal pay, and the age of retirement have improved. About half of women employees adopted the same age of retirement as men

but many employers abused the new system by compelling women to work overtime.

8.6 EFFECT OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY LAW

Official and private surveys showed that the Equal Employment Opportunity Law has been affecting the working conditions of women, yet it has not been satisfactory.

According to the State of Women's Labour Report (1988, p.53), the theme of the Law has been spreading to a certain degree at public and private levels.Many enterprises have reformed the management system of employment in accordance with the theme of the Law, so that the ratio of employment of female graduates of universities increased 1,8% in 2 years and 49,4% of them were specialist technicians and teachers (Ibid, p 57). The ratio of females who held responsible positions in entreprises doubled between 1977 and 1987 (Ibid, p.60). Regarding the conditions of work for women, national and local bodies offer subsidies to enterprises which introduce systems such as child care leave, re-employment of women and the establishment of nursing facilities (Ibid, pp.75 & 76). As of 1987, the number of houses for working women in small and middle enterprises, which were established by local public bodies, was 203 (Ibid, p.79).

The Women's Labour Problem Society carried out a survey of 295 women in 161 enterprises (White Paper on Women, 1989, pp.154-162). It reported that the state of equal employment for women in enterprises two years after the enactment of the Law has not much improved. Some change in the position, work role, promotion, educational training for women was found. However, the effect of the Law was slight. Only 4% of women could get new posts. Traditionally male positions were given to women; 17% of women could be promoted; 20,7% of women had a chance to have educational training ; but the educational training for women was in feminine type work such as word processor, computer and correspondence education.

As against the above findings, the survey found fairly equal opportunity for women in the systems of advertisement, recruitment and retirement. Enterprises set equal requirements for women in advertisements and recruitment but employment requirements set for women differed from men's, e.g. women should live with their parents; and the pay was not the same for male and female university graduates or only a post in general work was provided for women. Enterprises (80%) adopted equal conditions of retirement for males and females, with over 80% of the enterprises which had previously had different retirement ages standardising on a single age.

In order to cope with the Equal Employment Law for Men and Women which demanded of employers to correct the sexual discrimination regarding the disposition and function of work for women, enterprises adopted a management system of courses for integrated jobs and general jobs (Women's White Paper, p. 158). The integrated job refers to professional or skilled work that inevitably involves a change of domicile by transfer at home or abroad, while the general job refers to clerical work.

In spite of the introduction to the management system of courses on integrated jobs and general jobs in enterprises, the criteria for advancement were largely based on the content of work and work transfers requiring a change of domicile, the latter being a disadvantage to women, causing indirect discrimination against them. A survey of hearings concerning women engaged in integrated jobs was carried out by the Women's Labour Problem Society: the number of women in integrated jobs has been increasing and working conditions have become more strict than before. There were 30% of enterprises which had changed their labour agreements or working rules regarding overtime work and 65% of women answered that they had worked overtime in the last two years. With these changes, it is still a serious problem for working women to harmonise their work outside and work at home, marriage, child-birth and child-rearing.

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The "White Paper on Health and Welfare- children, family and community" (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1990) emphasized measures for working women who faced difficulties in combining their work and rearing children: while the number of women participating in society has been advancing the number of children has been decreasing. Measures to be taken included nursing services, disseminating the system of child-care leave, financial support for children, consolidating the system of consultation.

Some individual examples of the effect of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women for both improvement and failure to improve in women's work conditions are cited as follows: - Very few administrative positions were given to women as deserved. In this line, two Ministry posts were given to two women in 1988, however these women were dismissed in the new structure of the Cabinet in February 1990. In the election to the Upper House in 1989 and the Lower House in 1990, the number of the women candidates and women's seats increased. For the first time, a woman was promoted to the Chief, Centre of Uruwa City Court in 1989 (Asahi, 7, 6, 1989). For the first time a woman was promoted to be Assistant Chief, Tokorozawa City Office in 1989 (Asahi, 3, 2, 1989). For the first time, a woman was re-employed in an insurance company according to a new system of the company

called "Re-employment of Women Staff" in 1989 (Asahi, 6, 10, 1989).

An editorial (Asahi, 15, 4, 1989) commented that the number of women participating in various fields has increased in the past 10 years. Yet very few women are involved in policy making in politics, administration, enterprises, etc... The number of female members in political parties, local boards, civil servants has increased in a few years, although it is still very low. Apart from lower numbers of female members in political parties, the number of female members of the Diet increased from 2,6% in 1989 to 3,8% in 1990. There were 1,5% (1,033) females in local councils, 5,2% females in national councils, 0,5% civil servants (White Paper on Public Servants, 1989).

The above editorial of the Asahi commented that a reason for less female participation in politics stemmed from deeply held Japanese consciousness of sex roles. The Public Survey showed that over half of men and 37% of women agreed that men should work outside and women should work at home. The Asahi also criticized the fact that the Liberal Democratic Party and financial circles were markedly passive on the idea of the "Equal Employment Opportunity Law". Since there are about 20% female members in the Labour Unions, rearing children by couples was proposed in the Asahi (1, 2, 1990).

The number of women wishing to keep working has been increasing, while the poor condition of part-time labour has been widely publicised. Discrimination against women has been due to the traditional attitude of being unwilling to share roles between the sexes. Men's role is to work outside and women's role is to keep the house is a view which still persists in Japan (Asahi, 15, 4, 1989). In this respect, the Asahi recommended men to be more independent in daily life and to share work between the couple in order to create a family.

A movement towards "Women's change of image" in many Local Government Boards (Asahi, 8, 4, 1989) indicated an effect of the Law. The major change was to adopt a new title for women "josei", which may indicate a female or lady, in place of "fujin", which corresponds largely to married women.

Finally, since the Hosokawa Coalition cabinet was formed in August 1993, the promotion of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women has been significant especially in the major posts of the government. Women's appointments were firstly three Ministers in the Cabinet, the President of the House of Representatives in the Diet in August 1993 and later a judge of the Supreme Court in January 1994. Women's appointment to the latter two posts was for the first time in history (14, 1, 1994, Asahi).

8.7 CONCLUSION

The examination hitherto shows that national policies for education and employment for females have improved since 1945, specifically in the past decade.

The Constitution and Fundamental Law of Education provided equal educational opportunity for boys and girls as general provisions. Participation of females in schools and higher institutions has increased. The amended Course of Study of 1989 eliminated certain discrimination in the curriculum of the secondary school. Yet, in practice discrimination still lies largely in treating girls from the traditional point of view, expecting them to conform to it. Accordingly, girls tend to choose feminine subjects. Yet the recent official statistics reveal the increase in women's access to universities and women specialising in masculine subjects. This shows the effect of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law.

The implementation of the Equal Employment Law for Men and Women in recent years seems not satisfactory on the whole. The Ministries concerned certainly implemented the provisions and tried to press employers to adopt the provisions with public subsidy and guidance. Many employers did change their systems in accordance with the Law, although the major problem lies in their indirect discrimination against women.

Working conditions for women seem to have progressed more than their attainment of equal positions or the same content of work as men.

The policy for working women itself can be assessed highly, as it focused specifically on equal employment opportunity and working conditions, with measures for implementation nationwide. The enactment of the policy and its gradual implementation were due to the pressure of the international movement both in recommendations and practice, to women's organisations and to social change. The women's movement was not radical but progressed along with social change and women's compromising with their own sacrifice in a traditional society holding stereotyped views of the value and work of women.

Social changes certainly affected the situation of women. The number of working women marrying at a later age has been increasing. The number of households with a couple working is also increasing, accounting for over 30%. The number of aged couples living by themselves has tripled in the past 15 years, which increased the need for their care. However women have been faced with difficulty in combining work, child care and housework, while men cannot be independent in family life. On the other hand, the number of children, who will

support the society of the 21st century where the percentage of the aged is increasing, is scarcely high enough (Asahi, 30, 3, 1990).

Such social change is related to women's problems and affects largely the economics, politics and welfare of the nation. In this respect, the women's era has certainly come since the problems of women cannot be ignored any longer if society is to progress. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law was therefore enacted and has been in the process of implementation. In spite of this implementation, women's consciousness about access to education, responsibilities for work and an attempt at sexual equality, seems still at a low level. Women both working and wishing to work, sacrifice themselves. Again, major obstacles to sexual equality are the traditional view of women, the indirect discrimination in organizations and the traditional family system. The traditional view of women is coming to the stage of change in step with changes in society.

What changes seem desirable to improve the implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law? The society for Women's Labour Problems in 1988 (White Paper on Women, 1989, pp. 161-162)) suggested firstly reducing working hours and creating conditions for both men and women which are compatible with family responsibilities and work. Secondly, the proposal is to facilitate an access to

changed working positions for women and to enlarge the opportunity for educational training. Thirdly, to revise this Law to make it effective by new provisions for enterprises, including prohibitions and penalties. Fourthly, to provide conditions in working places and communities compatible with women's work and care for family. Lastly, in order to succeed in the above, a positive movement by working women themselves and by labour unions is required.

Being supported by the ideas of the Prime Minister who takes a serious view of social role of women and has appointed women in three top posts, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law will eventually affect the education for girls and women. However, self-awareness of girls and women concerning sexual equality in education as well as in society is necessary to overcome the problems of sex discrimination in education.

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9. NATIONAL POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN IN SRI LANKA

Swarna Jayaweera

9.1 THE SETTING

Sri Lanka is a small island, 65.610 sq. kilometres or about 25. 000 sq.miles in size, situated to the south of India. It has a recorded history of around 2.500 years, and an ancient civilization based on religion (Buddhism and Hinduism) and irrigation-agriculture. During the last four centuries, Sri Lanka was subjected to varying degrees of foreign control by western imperial powers, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the British from the end of the eighteenth century till political independence was regained in the mid twentieth century.

The population is around 16 million. After two decades of rapid population increase from the late nineteen forties, the annual population growth rate had declined to 1,6% in the nineteen eighties. The urban population has been around 22% for several decades. Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic society with a Sinhalese majority (74%) and Tamil (18%) and Moor-Malay (7%) minorities. It is classified as a low income country and has a per capita GNP of $370.

9.2 NATIONAL POLICIES

National policies for the Education of Girls and Women in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka educational opportunities for girls and women have been determined by national education policies that have benefited girls and boys equally with respect to general education. Gender specific policies to ensure the access of girls and women to education have not been necessary in the over-all socio-cultural context.

The overriding concern of those to whom educational policy-making functions were transferred by the British colonial administration in 1931 was to reduce the socio-economic inequalities created by the colonial education system. British colonial education policy had left the legacy of centralized educational administration, a power structure in education in which Christian denominational agencies had a key role, and a dualistic social structure in which a small and relatively affluent elite received an English academic education and the majority of the population were confined to an attenuated education in their own language. Universal franchise and representative government in 1931 and Parliamentary democracy after political independence in 1948 made local policy makers sensitive to the needs of indigenous interests and disadvantaged masses. National education policies introduced at this juncture have been a major determinant of educational opportunity in Sri Lanka.

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The Special Comittee on Education appointed by the Legislature recommended in 1943 an education system "suitable for a democracy" in which every individual must have equal opportunity to reach the highest position in the social, economic and political life of the nation (Sessional Paper 24 of 1943). To facilitate this process of upward mobility it was proposed that education should be free at all stages, from the primary school to the university. This policy of providing free education in the state school-going population and in Universities and state sponsored vocational education institutions has been the cornerstone of the education system for over forty years.

The social philosophy of the policy makers of the nineteen thirties and forties is further reflected in the free health services and food subsidies introduced for the general population. A significant outcome has been a relatively high "Physical Quality of Life Index" of over 80 computed on the basis of 90% male and 82% female literacy in 1981, life expectancy of 68 years for men and 72 years for women and an infant mortality rate of 25/1000.

Education was perceived to be a major component of this social welfare package. As education was expected to be an agent of socio-economic mobility, Central Schools or rural secondary schools were established throughout the country in the nineteen forties and a system of scholarships introduced to enable bright boys and, for the first time, girls from village and small urban schools to achieve their potential. As a further

equalization strategy, the local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, were made media of instruction in all primary schools from 1945, progressively in all secondary schools from 1953 and in Arts Faculties in Universities from 1960. Resurgent religio-cultural nationalism led to the nationalization of denominational schools in 1961.

It is interesting to note, however, that these policies were not supported by compulsory education legislation. The Education Ordinance No.1 of 1939 and subsequent amendments provide for enabling legislation by the education authorities to enforce compulsory attendance for the 5 to 14 age group. Such regulations have never been enforced although an Education Commission and White Papers in the nineteen sixties envisaged compulsory education legislation (Sessional Paper 1, 1962; White Paper 1964) and the Constitution of 1978 has among its Directive Principles of State Policy "the complete eradication of illiteracy and assurance to all persons of the right to universal and equal access to education at all levels" (Constitution, Art. 27 (2), 1978).

The rapid expansion of educational opportunities that has taken place since 1945 was therefore an outcome of social demand stimulated by the incentives offered for educational participation. Sri Lanka's education policies went beyond the basic needs strategies supported by international agencies

since the mid seventies by transcending social class divisions and gender bias and by reducing significantly private costs of primary, secondary and tertiary including higher education.

The State established an extensive network of schools so that by the nineteen seventies most of the school age population had access to schools within a radius of one to two kilometres from their houses. The total number of schools doubled from 4537 in 1945 to 9491 in 1971 and increased more slowly to 10 207 in 1987 as economic conditions worsened in a low income country buffeted by international economic pressures on a dependent economy.

Since the nineteenth century, urban-based single-sex schools have been established for the offspring of elite and middle class families and coeducational schools for the non-affluent rural and urban population. Coeducational schools, however, have increased significantly since political independence to 66,7% of the schools in 1945, 94,1% in 1971 and 96,4% in 1988.

The percentage of the boys' schools has declined from 11,6% in 1945 to 1,4% in 1988, and that of girls' schools from 10,8% to 2,1% over the same period. These single-sex schools are, in general, prestigious urban schools and coeducation has been the accepted policy for the non-elite population. The teaching

profession has been and is a popular choice for women, and 52% of the total number of teachers in 1975 and 61,5% in 1988 were women.

By 1970, nearly 5% of the GDP and 14%-16% of the national budget was spent on education. As a result of increasing economic constraints, lower priority given to social welfare and reduction of educational expenditure from the late seventies by externally imposed structural adjustment policies, educational expenditure declined to 2,3% of the GDP and 6%-7% of the national budget, with adverse consequences for the quality of education. The provision of free school textbooks from 1980 and free midday meals from 1989, however, has reflected continuity in social policies that facilitate access to education.

9.3 PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

Parents in Sri Lanka have perceived an instrumental value in education, and positive parental attitudes to the education of girls (Jayaweera, 1979) and the equally high educational aspirations of many parents for their sons and daughters (CENWOR, 1987) underscore also the absence of major cultural constraints on the educational participation of girls and women. The consequences of the interaction of gender-neutral national education policies and positive cultural attitudes

Table 1: Participation Rates - Urban, Rural 1981

Age	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
5 - 9	84,4	84,5	84,2	86,6	86,4	86,9	83,8	84,1	83,6
10 - 14	82,4	82,9	81,8	85,2	86,4	84,4	81,6	82,1	81,1
5 - 14	83,7	83,7	83,6	85,9	86,4	85,6	82,7	83,1	82,4
15 - 19	41,9	41,2	42,7	46,4	44,9	48,0	40,6	40,0	41,3
19 - 24	8,9	8,7	9,0	9,7	9,4	10,2	8,7	9,1	8,7
5 - 24	55,8	56,0	55,6	56,2	55,3	57,3	55,7	56,3	55,2

Source: Census of Ceylon, 1981.

between the two ethnic groups, the Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils, have been that by and large girls and women have had equal access to general education and that gender disparities in educational participation are minimal. Problem areas have been the conservatism of the rural Muslim population particularly in the Eastern province, and the educational backwardness of plantation labour families of South Indian origin imported by the British colonial administration, who have lived for nearly a century in their enclaves in which education was subordinated to the economic purposes of the plantation economy.

Age specific participation rates explain why gender-specific policies have not surfaced as a need in educational programmes.

Near gender parity in enrolment was achieved by 1960. Census data in 1981 (Table 1) show that 83,7% of boys and 83,6% of girls between 5 and 14 years were enrolled in schools, that urban-rural disparities were minimal and that participation rates tend to be higher among girls than among boys in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups. The percentage of girls in the total enrolment in schools was 42,4% in 1946 and 49,7% in 1988. By the nineteen seventies there were more girls than boys in secondary schools, as the employment situation in the country affected women more adversely than men. In 1988, 50,7% of the

total enrolment in Grades 6-11 and 57,9% in Grades 12-13 were girls (Table 2).

Table 2: Enrolment in Schools (1988)

Year	Total	Female	%
1 - 5	2045.665	987.246	48,2
6 - 8	907.265	447.885	49,4
9 - 11	818.762	427.011	52,2
12 - 13 Sc.	53.708	25.030	46,6
Arts	70.182	48.751	69,5
Commerce	42.480	22.608	53,2
12 - 13 Total	166.370	96.389	57,9
1 - 13 Total	3938.062	1.958.531	49,7

Source: Annual School Census, Statistical Division, Ministry of Education

Both the Consumer Finances and Socio-economic Survey (1981-82) and the Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey (1985-86) reported a slight decline in the national participation rates of both boys and girls, presumably as a result of growing economic constraints among poverty groups and widening income disparities in an economic context dominated by world recession, inflation and structural adjustment policies. Child labour too appears to have increased as a further symptom of the economic malaise.

It should be noted also that slightly more girls than boys have had no schooling at all- 5,8% of boys and 7,1% of girls in the 10-

14 age group at the 1981 Census. The Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey of 1985/1986 found that 21,1% of boys and 22% of girls of the 5-9 age group, and 3,5% of the boys and 4,9% of the girls of the 10-14 age group had never been to school. On the other hand, early leaving or "dropout" rates from school have been lower for girls than for boys at each grade, particularly at secondary level.

Gender-specific disparities are found in plantation districts where the percentage of girls in schools had increased to 45,9% by 1985, but was still less than that of the all -island percentage of 49,7%, while national female drop-out rates were higher in 1981 in plantation districts and rural Muslim districts in the east. Recent enrolment statistics, however, indicate that gender disparities in these two population groups are declining steadily.

Socio-economic disparities, however, continue to exist in the provision as well as utilization of school facilities. 13,4% of schools are one-teacher schools. There is congruence between the socio-economic background of parents and school facilities and education policies have not compensated adequately for inadequacies in the socio-economic environment. Around 8% of an age cohort of boys and girls never enter schools, 70%-75% of those who enter school complete Grade 5, 50%-60% Grade 8, and 25% are enrolled in Grades 12-13. The out-of-school

population live in low income urban areas, in pockets of rural poverty and in plantations. The causes of non-enrolment are chiefly poverty and the opportunity costs of formal education (Haputantri, 1979; UNICEF-Ministry of Education, 1984, 1985). Social class rather than gender therefore determines educational opportunity in Sri Lanka.

Since 1981, the State has organized non-formal education or "literacy" programmes for out-of-school children between 5 and 14 years of age, which, however, appear to receive low priority in official perceptions of educational needs. This programme reaches less than 5% of the out-of-school population, but 51,6% of those who have availed themselves of this opportunity are girls (Ministry of Education, 1988). Both boys and girls in these classes come from low income families (Jayaweera, 1985). There is no doubt, however, that a hard core of boys and girls in poverty groups have yet to be brought within the ambit of the educational system.

The impact of national education policies is reflected not merely in participation rates but also in the narrowing gender gap in national literacy rates. While male literacy rates of the population over 10 years at national censuses have increased from 76,5% in 1946 to 90,5% in 1981, female literacy rates have increased from 46,2% to 82,8%. In 1981, both male and female

literacy rates of the 10-14 age group were 88,8% and those of the 15-19 age groups were 89,9% and 89,4% respectively.

In Sri Lanka entry to Universities is through a very competitive GCE, (Advanced Level) Examination. Lack of adequate University places has also limited university education to less than 2% of the 20-24 age group. Competition for restricted university places and the introduction of quotas to assist students in disadvantaged districts have led to frustration in more developed districts and ethnic conflict.

The proportion of women students in universities was only 10,2% in 1942 at the inception of the University of Ceylon. Free education policies and the establishment of more universities - currently nine in number, including the Open University - increased the percentage of women students to 44,4% in 1970. The percentage has been just over 40% since then and was 42,9% in 1987. Around 70% of both men and women students have been from rural areas since the late sixties. National education policies have transformed the gender and social composition of universities (Strauss, 1951; Jayaweera, 1984). They have lost their elitist ethos of the forties and draw at least half their students from economically disavantaged families (Table 3). Such students are supported by an extensive system of grants. Women from Muslim and plantation families only are under-

represented in the universities as their retention rates in the education system are low.

Table 3: University Entrants by Parents' Occupation

	1950		1977	
Occupation	M	F	M	F
Professional & Management	55,5	69,5	8,9	11,3
Teaching	12,6	7,2	9,8	10,5
Middle level e.g. clerical	20,3	20,3	15,3	14,3
Small farmers & Rural Workers	6,3	1,4	31,5	27,9
Urban Workers	4,2	1,4	16,2	15,0
Unemployed			8,3	8,5
Unspecified			10,0	10,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: (1) Murray Strauss, "Family Characteristics and Occupational Choice of University Entrants". University of Ceylon Review, Vol. IX, n°2, 1951.
(2) Swarna Jayaweera, "Access to University Education - The Social Composition of University Entrants". University of Colombo Review, Vol.1, n°4, 1984.

Secondary and tertiary level vocational education are the weakest sectors in the education system. As will be seen later, gender role expectations distort the outcomes of policies in this sector of the education system, as does not happen in general education.

9.4 CONTENT OF EDUCATION

Two "tracks" of policies can be identified in the national education scenario. While one set of policies has contributed to promoting educational opportunities for the girls and women, gender inequalities have been reproduced and reinforced by policies that relate to the content of education and to its role in the control of access, organization, distribution and legitimation of knowledge and behaviour.

Attempts have been made to review the content of subject areas such as science and social studies and to introduce a child-centred approach to primary education in conformity with modern educational practice. But there has been hardly any awareness at official level of gender role stereotypes in educational materials and in the "hidden curriculum" that ensure the operation of education as an agent of socio-cultural reproduction. Some textbooks, for instance, are apt to reflect unconscious gender bias and to underscore concepts of domesticity and servicing roles, overlooking the reality of women's lives as participants in the education process and in the economy. No steps have been taken to eliminate these stereotypes that may affect adversely the self-perceptions of girls and thereby their aspirations and life chances.

Coursewise enrolment data reflect some of these perceptions. In 1988, 46,6% of students in the GCE Advanced Level science stream, 58,2% in the commerce stream and 69,5% in the arts

stream were girls, and these differences in enrolment patterns have persisted over the years. Within the sciences, physical sciences are perceived to be a "masculine" area of study and biological sciences to be a "feminine" area.

Recent studies have indicated that gender differences in performance are minimal and are, in fact, created by the educational environment. For instance, no significant differences have been found between boys and girls in cognitive skills (Rupasinghe, 1989). An analysis of performance at the GCE Ordinary Level examination found that differences in achievement in subjects including mathematics were the result of differences in the school environment rather than in gender (Jayaweera, Perera and Rupasinghe, 1989).

Centralization in curriculum development was intensified in the post-independence years and uniformity promoted on the grounds that "the disparities in teaching can be minimized considerably by ensuring that all schools use uniform syllabuses and schemes of work (Administration Report, 1962). The Curriculum Development Centre established in the Ministry of Education at the end of the sixties produced detailed course guides on the basis of which the Education Publications Unit of the Ministry has had a monopoly in textbook production

in order to provide free or subsidized education materials to all students.

Despite a decade of proposals for reforms in the sixties, intended to diversify the secondary school curriculum, the concern with equality has led to the development of a common curriculum which extends now to eleven years - five years of primary education and six years of secondary education - leading to the GCE (Ordinary Level) Examination. Students are then channelled to arts, science and commerce streams in the CGE (Advanced Level) classes.

Within the "common curriculum" gender differentiation in practical courses is clearly visible as the practice is to direct boys to woodwork and metal work classes and girls to home economics and weaving classes in consonance with norms relating to gender division in the labour market. At the GCE (OL) Examination, therefore, girls offer home economics, and weaving, and in lesser numbers, commerce and accountancy and agriculture (Jayaweera, 1985).

Since the early seventies efforts have been made to "integrate" vocational content in the common curriculum. The 1972 educational reforms introduced two pre-vocational subjects for all students, one of which was to relate to community needs. Schools however lacked resources to

subjects for all students, one of which was to relate to community needs. Schools however lacked resources to implement these changes and socio-economic inequalities in the environment were reflected in the pre-vocational curriculum. Where girls were concerned, the home economics syndrome was reinforced in view of the fact that few schools had the initiative and resources to introduce girls to non-traditional courses.

In 1980, a curriculum innovation, the Life Skills Project was introduced in "pilot" secondary schools in Grade 6 and subsequently Grade 7. The Life Skills course provides instruction in a wide range of domestic and elementary vocational skills through a structured common curriculum for boys and girls that encompasses technical and home science skills. In this process it has countered gender differentiation and gender role assumptions, but it is significant that this fundamental change has been incidental and that the course has been viewed from the perspective of promoting a more relevant common curriculum. Moreover, in Grade 8, boys and girls are directed to the same "masculine" and "female" practical subjects so that girls and boys continue to be prepared for culturally determined economic and domestic roles.

8.5 EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Secondary and tertiary level educational institutions function as intermediate agencies between general education and the labour market. In the absence of a policy of vocational guidance that could counter gender-role stereotypes introduced in child rearing practices and reinforced through the education system, the vocational aspirations of girls are apt to be determined by the gender-role expectations of society. The options they select are therefore often influenced by perceptions of their feminine or servicing roles.

In the universities, for instance, women students are relatively well represented in medical and related courses and in the social science and humanities but are under-represented in science and engineering, although there has been an increase in their enrolment in these courses in the last two decades (Table 4).

National vocational education policies have never sought to challenge prevailing social norms and to reduce gender imbalances in enrolment in technical related courses. Quotas discriminate against women in agricultural education for reasons that have never been adequately explained. Women are admitted to only one of three agricultural schools and intake to this institution is also limited to 20%. On the other

Table 4: Distribution of University Students by Faculty and Sex

Faculties	1966-67		1975-76		1984-85	
	Total	% F	Total	% F	Total	% F
Medicine	1.542	28,9	1.239	47,1	2.193	43,1
Dentistry	94	36,3	193	55,9	225	46,4
Veterinary Science	70	14,3	108	49,1	134	40,3
Agriculture	83	13,3	390	25,6	726	43,4
Engineering	571	1,9	1,210	10,4	1.702	12,8
Architecture	25	-	73	28,8	89	33,7
Science	802	24,6	1.797	36,7	3.018	39,8
Social Science & Humanities	10.902	43,8	6.605	48,1	6.346	53,5
Law	72	26,4	144	42,4	392	43,9
Management Studies			889	29,6	3.392	40,2
TOTAL	14.161	38,9	12.648	40,7	18.217	42,8

Source: Report of the National Census of Higher Education, University of Sri Lanka and the University Grants Commission.

hand, nearly 70% of the enrolment in Teachers' Colleges and around 90% in para-professional medical courses are women. More importantly, less than 20% of women students in Technical Colleges are enrolled in technical and craft courses and over 75% are in commerce courses, although no regulations restrict entry to courses (Table 5). This situation has not changed over two decades.

Non-formal vocational training policies are likewise influenced by assumptions relating to gender appropriate jobs and by the gender division in the labour market. While the major national vocational training agencies offer a wide range of programmes, women are concentrated in a limited range of courses such as secretarial and sewing, so that there is considerable under-utilization of existing facilities by women.

In the Vocational Training Centres of the Department of Labour, the percentage of women trainees has increased from 5,9% in 1973 to 29,2% in 1977 and 77,3% in 1982 and declined to 60,8% in 1988. This increase in the number of women enrolled was a consequence of the proliferation of garment industries in the Export Processing Zone in which the international division of labour requires the use of young female secondary school leavers as low cost labour in order to increase the profits of transnational companies. In 1987, for instance, 99,8% of the

women trainees were enrolled in sewing courses in Mobile Centres.

In the Non-formal technical units for school leavers established since 1974 by the Ministry of education in response to the unemployment situation in the country, the majority of trainees have always been women- 78,7% in 1978 and 69,3% in 1986. The percentage of women enrolled in sewing and dress-making classes increased from around 30% in 1978 to 89,5% in 1986, and few young women are found in non-conventional courses.

The National Apprenticeship Board is the chief training agency for industry. The percentage of women of the total number of apprentices increased slowly from 2,6% in 1973 to 5,7% in 1978 and 36,9% in 1987. In the latter year, 88% of the apprentices in the textile trades, 89% in clerical courses and only 20.9% in technical trades were women. 40,1% of the participants in the vocational courses organised by the National Youth Services Council are women, but the majority are enrolled in special "women's programmes" in sewing, dressmaking and "feminine" crafts, and short-term mobile programmes reinforce norms of domesticity. Gender-based differentiation has been a traditional practice in training programmes in "cottage" industries offered by the Department of Small Industries. In the Construction Industry Training

Table 5: Enrolment in Technical Colleges

	1973			1988		
	Total	Female	% F	Total	Female	% F
National Dip. in Technology	1278	99	7,7	136	14	10,3
Technician certificate	1369	75	5,5	3481	479	13,8
Draughtsmanship certificate				783	375	47,9
Building Trades				2630	147	5,6
Technical Trades	2400	5	0,12	5464	42	0,8
Crafts				56	4	7,1
Tailoring				64	55	85,9
Home Science				111	111	100,0
Agriculture				214	66	30,8
Dip. in Commerce & Accounting	3199	1017	31,8	3193	1428	44,7
Certificate in Commerce & Business				4382	3051	69,6
English	207	62	29,9	150	82	54,7
TOTAL	8453	1258	14,9	20664	5854	28,3

Source: Technical Education Division, Ministry of Higher Education

Project introduced in 1982, only 1,3% of the trainees have been women although unskilled female labour is extensively used in the construction industry (Jayaweera, 1989).

Since the sixties, the inability of the sluggish economy to absorb the output of the education system has led to a high incidence of unemployment, and particularly youth unemployment leading to social unrest and ethnic conflict. The limited range of vocational skills among women has increased their vulnerability in a shrinking labour market. The unemployment rate of women has been at least double that of men since the early seventies - 14,3% male unemployment and 31,1% female unemployment in 1971 and 7,8% and 21,3% respectively in 1981. School leavers are the worst affected and 14,5% men and 42% women with GCE (OL) qualifications and 22% men and 52,2% women with GCE (AL) qualifications were unemployed in 1981 (Census , 1971, 1981). Current trends in enrolment in vocational education indicate that women are likely to be further marginalized in employment with the advance of technology, mechanization and industrial restructuring.

9.6 IMPLICATIONS AND ISSUES

National education policies that focused on education as a fundamental right and as an instrument for reducing

socioeconomic inequalities have facilitated the access of girls and women to education. The travails of a low income country, particularly in a context of global economic pressures and unequal international economic relations have however prevented the achievement of even universal primary education. National education policies that are concerned with human resources development and with education purely as an economic investment have had adverse consequences particularly as they have been influenced by inappropriate foreign models and theories. Women are specially vulnerable in this respect as policy makers, planners and administrators nurtured on middle class values and imported norms of domesticity tend to perceive women as housewives or secondary earners in a country in which they have traditionally participated as economic producers.

Girls and women have been therefore subsumed in general policies, to their advantage in educational opportunity and to their disadvantage in socio-cultural reproduction and social relations of production. Gender specific policies have not been introduced to conscientize policy makers or girls and women with regard to their multiple roles or to reduce gender imbalances where they exist.

The 1978 Constitution introduced for the first time a reference to gender equality in the section of fundamental

rights and to discrimination on the grounds of sex (Goonesekera, 1985).

The relatively high participation and literacy rates in an economically developing society have however engendered a sense of complacency. Consequently educational policy makers, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Trade Unions or most women's organizations have not given priority to consideration of how the education system has affected gender equality in the family, labour market or society. Concern for promoting income-earning opportunities for women in poverty groups and for "integrating them in development" has overshadowed issues such as gender equality in social institutions, in the economy or in the power structure, and the empowerment of women through the education process. Only a few institutions and organizations established in recent years attempt to function as pressure groups to empower women and to promote equity in the context of human rights and development and distributive social justice.

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10. THE SITUATION IN SPAIN

Victoria Gordillo

10.1 NATIONAL POLICIES

The principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of sex is recorded in several articles of the 1978 Spanish Constitution. However, neither have the changes carried out until now been sufficient, nor have the legal changes resulted yet in an actual access to equality. This is possibly the reason why, in spite of the significant steps forward which have been taken - especially in education, as I shall point out below- women in our country still feel seriously hindered not only in their efforts to make their professional and family lives compatible, but also when it comes to being accepted in qualified jobs or jobs which have traditionally been considered masculine.

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, the Women's Institute (Instituto de la Mujer) was founded in 1983 to turn into reality the principle of equal opportunities, without discrimination for reasons of sex. It studies and investigates the situation of women in Spain, and organizes campaigns to raise public awareness about the actual situation of women, their rights and the discrimination and specific problems which they suffer. The activity of the feminist movement was surely the cause that pressed the Socialist Government to its

setting-up. The basic idea is that for women to have access to equal opportunities, it is necessary on the one hand to improve and complete the legal development of the principle of equality, it is also essential to modify all attitudes and behaviours, all ways of life and social structures, that make it impossible for women fully to develop their personality and actively participate in the cultural, professional and political worlds.

The Women's Institute has set a series of goals which will have to be met within a certain time schedule, and it has also defined the actions necessary for their achievement, as well as the institutions that are to enforce them. This is what the three year (1988-1990). Action Plan is about, its objective is to achieve equal opportunity for women and its provisions concern our legislation, the family, health, education, culture, professional training, jobs, social care, international collaboration and associations.

10.2 THEIR REPERCUSSION IN EDUCATION

The 1970 Education Act (Ley General de Educacion) had already emphasized two important objectives for the achievement of social equality between men and women: "to make the whole of the Spanish people participate in education" and "to offer everybody equal opportunities, the only limitation being their capacity for studies". Both principles have been taken as guidelines in further education legislation.

The Situation in Spain

The White Book for the Reform of the Educational System (Libro Blanco para la Reforma del Sistema Educativo) of 1988 states quite clearly that "some differences and unjust discriminations still exist in the educational system, but one should point out that, regarding what was referred to at the beginning as equality between the sexes, the present educational system is more geared towards equality than other social systems and promotes the total advance towards a more equalitarian society" (art.14). We shall now look at the data on which this statement is based, the presence of women in the basic stages of the Spanish educational system[38]:

The new educational system consists of the following:

a) Infant Education, which is up to six years of age.

b) Primary Education shall consist of six academic years, from six to twelve years of age, and shall be divided into three cycles of two academic years each. Subjects are compulsory and of overall, general nature.

c) Secondary Education: general to age 16, then academic or vocational (Bachillerato)

e) University Education comprising three levels, it includes studies at Colleges, Faculties and Higher Technical Institutions.

Within the general trend of improvement of the educational level of the Spanish population, women have been the best off: 82% of young women have received secondary education and since 1976, the percentage of women inscribed in Bachillerato is higher than that of men (ranging around 53% in the decade of

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38 COU= Curso de Orientación Universitaria (Preparatory University Course; LOGSE= Ley de Orientación General del systema Educativo (General Law of Spanish Educational System).

the 80s). The generation which is now around 30 can equal the masculine population as to educational levels.

It can be said today that differences lie more in quality (subjects studied, types of establishments, certain differences in efficiency) than in quantity (schooling percentages).

There are a few curious facts worth noting: in the first place, and contrary to the idea of women's lower intellectual capacity, it has been proved, in relation to capacity in primary education, that girls' grades are slightly above boys'. Fewer girls repeat their years, while more girls get their certificate at the end of their secondary education. From the point of view of the types of establishments, in state schools both girls and boys repeat years more often than in private schools, and within the latter it is the Catholic Church's establishments that have the lowest percentage of students repeating years.

The Centres for the Education of Adults have doubled their number of students in the last 10 years, with a higher percentage of women than men. These establishments usually have four kinds of studies:

- First cycle: teaching to read and write, literacy classes.
- Second cycle: obtaining the primary education certificate.
- Third cycle: obtaining the secondary education certificate.
- Other cultural activities

The percentage of women in the First cycle and in Other Activities is 60%, while in the other two levels it is slightly lower (54.8% and 51% respectively). All in all, the number of women who get their primary education certificate, an essential requirement for secondary studies, is higher than boys', a fact that results in the higher number of female students in secondary education and COU (University Preparatory Course) (53,8%). By contrast, the number of girls and women in Formacion Profesional (Vocational training) remains lower (42%). These figures show that the situation today is the opposite of what things were like 20 years ago (see Libro Blanco, White Book, art.14).

Table 2: Intermediate Level Students According to type of Studies and Percentage of Women (1975-1987)

	B.U.P. and C.O.U[39].		V.T.	
YEAR	TOTAL	%M	TOTAL	%M
1975-76	818.393	48,79	305.254	28,85
1976-77	844.259	50,04	359.044	32,18
1977-78	877.519	58,80	407.817	34,24
1978-79	999.479	52,34	455.943	35,45
1979-80	1.037.788	53,83	515.119	36,81
1980-81	1.091.197	53,49	558.271	37,96
1981-82	1.119.095	53,69	628.368	38,82
1982-83	1.117.600	53,86	650.770	40,34
1983-84	1.142.308	53,89	695.480	41,20
1984-85	1.182.154	53,79	726.000	41,80
1985-86	1.238.874	53.43	738.340	42,23
1986-87	1.278.269	53,85	751.995	41,96

In Vocational Training (Formación Profesional) both groups - men and women - have similar growth rates, but there is a significant difference as to the kind of training they choose. While men tend to choose Electricity, Administration and Mechanics, women prefer Administration, Health and Hairdressing. There are also more boys than girls in Technical Drafting and Metal Work, and more girls train in Home Economics.

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39 C.O.U: Curso de Orientación Universitaria (Preparatory University course).

The Situation in Spain

One of the more striking differences between girls and boys in their secondary education (BUP) is in the options - Arts or Sciences - they choose. Arts is undertaken by a majority of girls and only by one out of three boys while Sciences is basically a boys' choice. Later on, at University, this fact will result in a strong difference between sexes as to the different specializations undertaken by male and female students.

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Table 3: School attendance rates in Bachillerato and COU attending to age and sex (1988-89) (in thousands)

Age	Women	Men
14 year-old	53,8	43,8
15 year-old	55,8	46,1
16 year-old	52,0	42,2
17 year-old	46,1	37,5
18 year-old	17,4	15,3
19 year-old	8,3	7,0

In the last 10 years the overall number of students enrolling for University studies has increased by 54%. This is due to a large extent to the presence of women, which has grown by 103%, whereas the number of men has only increased by 26%. The logical result is that there is no longer sex discrimination in University studies. The reasons are several:

- The increase in the number of girls attending secondary schools as
- This is where University students basically come from.
- The creation of new careers and new establishments throughout the country has made it less costly for students who have to study away from their family homes, because that gives the possibility to choose between more careers, and at the same time, the existence of university centers nearer to the place of residence permits them to continue living with their family. This appears to be the first factor that girls consider at the time of choosing their studies.
- The growing importance our society is giving to University degrees. These are required today for

many jobs which in the past did not require them. Therefore all social classes want to give University degrees to their children, regardless of their sex.

- Since our people find more and more difficulty in getting their first job, studying is the only socially positive activity left for them. They extend their studies more and more when they do not find a job at the end of their first cycle.

The greater percentage of both male and female students choose University Faculties, and in second place Colleges which last only three years and have a more vocational aim (examples of vocational Colleges are the University School of Nursing, EGB[40] Teacher Training, Opticians Colleges, etc., or those forming the first level of Higher Technical Institutions).

The biggest difference of choice between male and female students is precisely in Higher Technical Institutions: only 1.7% of female students study for technical careers. The Faculties with the highest female participation (more than 60%) are Pharmacy, Philosophy, Geography and History, and Psychology. Those with fewest female students (less than 40%) are Science, Physics and Computing. Only 13% of students are female in Technical Colleges where the percentage is even lower of those who finish their studies (8%). Architecture is the Technical career with the highest female participation. In spite

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[40] EGB=Enseñanza Degenarl Básica (Primary School Education).

of these figures, the percentage of female students in Higher Technical Institutions is increasing.

10.3 REPERCUSSIONS IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Regarding the participation of women in the educational system as teachers, there are significant differences between the different levels and indeed regarding subjects and leading positions. The general trend seems to be that the number of female teachers is in inverse relation to age.

Graph 1: Distribution of E.G.B. Teachers in Stages according to Sex (1986-87)

Source: M.E.S.

Thus, in kindergartens practically all teachers are female (94%). This percentage drops to 62% in primary education where the specialization of teachers varies according to sex: men tend to specialize in Mathematics and Science while women take up kindergartens and Therapeutical Pedagogics. There is also a higher proportion of female teachers in private establishments, possibly due to the existence of girls' schools amongst them. As the educational level rises, the percentage of female teachers drops. In the most advanced cycle of compulsory education which demands a higher level of specialization and academical emphasis, there are more men than female teachers. Nor is there a fair proportion between the number of female teachers and the number of leading positions in teaching establishments, as is the case in other countries.

Table 5: University Teachers

Year	Male	Female	Total	Annual Growth percentage		
1975	22.973	5.449	28.422			
1976	26.370	6.687	33.057	14,7	22,7	16,3
1977	26.962	6.875	33.837	2,2	2,8	2,3
1978	29.014	7.648	36.662	7,6	11,2	8,3
1979	30.365	8.055	38.420	4,6	5,3	4,7
1980	31.789	8.595	40.384	4,6	6,7	5,1
1981	31.811	9.776	41.587	0,0	13,7	2,9
1982	32.697	10.432	43.129	2,7	6,7	3,7
1983	33.228	10.949	44.177	1,6	4,9	2,4
1984	33.783	11.198	44.981	1,1	2,3	1,8

In secondary education female teachers are less than 50% both in the public and private sectors, a percentage which has remained almost unchanged since 1982. As a rule, the professional level of female teachers is lower than that of male teachers, this is possibly the only point where the prevailing tendency towards the equality between both sexes does not show.

Finally, in the University women are only 25% of the teaching staff. Even in careers where students are predominantly female the percentage of female teachers does not exceed 50%, except in primary education teachers. Nevertheless, it is at this educational level that the increase in the percentage of women amongst teachers has been the most striking: in 1940 there was not a single female teacher in Technical High Schools and in Faculties the proportion was only 4,5%; in 1960 the situation remained unchanged in Technical High Schools and in Faculties the percentage had gone up to 8%. Although the number of female teachers has increased today by 84%, due to the low starting point such increase has not served to equate their number with that of male teachers and the proportion between them remains unchanged.

10.4 THE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN'S DOUBLE BURDEN

A recent research in Spain (CIS, 1987) affirms that men have nearly two hours more spare time (7,23 h.) than women (who only have 5,33 h.). Furthermore, the time used by men for

professional-academic work is more than twice as much the time spent by women. This relationship is inverted when we talk about domestic and family work, because here men spend not even one hour while women do more than five.

If in addition, we add the general time used for work by men and women (for domestic or family and professional or academic work) the result rises to 7,28 h. of daily work by women to 5,57 h. done by men. Such a difference amounts to more than two hours daily.

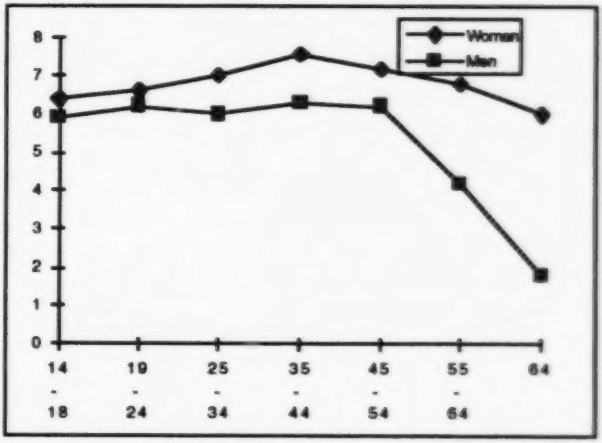
Men and women are characterized by using different standards for spending their time; these differences are created mainly by the determination of leisure and working time. These areas are ruled by a clear asymmetric principle.

It is be noted that men over 54 appreciably diminish their workload while women - at the same age - keep it quite high even though they have reduced it. Differences between men and women tend to rise continuously with age, the younger being more similar and the older being more different (See Figure II).

Women with extra-domestic work suffer the burden of a double working day, since the time used for the household follows the characteristic trend of women in general, which is more than three hours daily, while their labour day is just like that of men, so that their free time is strongly restricted. This

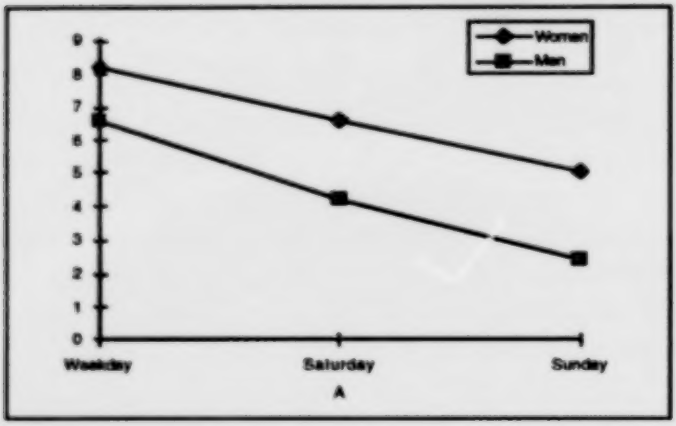
double professional/domestic situation means that the working load gets up to nine hours daily during a normal weekday which is more than one third of the day.

Figure 2: Average Workload of Men and Women according to Age.



Source: C.I.S., 1987 (Research nº1.709)

Figure3: Average Time of Men's and Women's Workload during the Week



The unequal division of salaried work results from three essentials factors:

a) the limits set to the incorporation of women to the labour market when they are 19 years old;
b) their progressive retirement starting at the age of 34;
c) the shorter time of working during all their lives.

Although the education level plays an important role, it seems that marital status is one of the most discriminant elements. In contrast to men, marriage acts like a filter against incorporation of women to the labour market. That happens in three ways: a) reducing their standard rate of participation, that always is less than that of other groups; b) by

expelling them from the labour market at an early age; and, c) by setting up a working life shorter than that of others (Ramos, 1990).

10.5 THE PROBLEM OF COEDUCATION

The 1970 Act established mixed teaching in primary and secondary schools. Since then all state schools which were created were mixed and the existing ones would have to give access to the other sex before the 1985-86 academic year. Private establishments were free to remain as single-sex schools, but those who chose do so were not entitled to government subsidies (Alberdi and Escario, 1986).

The signs which might have led us to think that there was a certain discrimination had apparently disappeared, but does that mean nevertheless, that within schools there are equal opportunities for both sexes?

According to Subirats (1988), in mixed schools boys and girls are educated as apparently equal individuals. But this formal appearance is in contradiction with academic results, where there are still actual differences between both sexes. The reason for this failure is to be found in the model of education which gives place to mixed schools. Such a model is not the result of the merging of two previous ones, the male and the female models. It results from imposing one of the two, which was considered the male system of education.

What it is all about is a different appreciation of male and female values and behaviours, where the former are considered superior not merely in an abstract or theoretical sense, but also in daily school practices. The characteristics which today's world values in a higher degree are considered masculine:independence, activity, aggressiveness, etc. But it is also true that it is difficult to adopt attitudes inconsistent with our own personality, and in the long run it can end up being destructive. That is why we get today so many complaints about the so-called "coeducation" - in its original wish to educate in the same way boys and girls are free to attend boys' classes.

It has been pointed out from a sociological point of view that when a profession tends to become feminine and to be carried out mainly by women, its economical value and social prestige usually fall (Subirats,1988). But from a strictly educational perspective one can foresee the risk of not educating in different ways individuals who in certain aspects do differ. The appropriation of culture, the possibility of choosing one career or another, is in fact conditioned by the values of the individual who carries out the action. It is precisely in relation to this point overall that the differences between sexes is clearest. Although this may change (because it has its origin in social circumstances which are flexible and in social processes which are variable), any process which is to be truly educative will

have to take into account personal differences. The more basic ones are expressed at group level.

Although the under-estimation of feminine values has been dealt with repeatedly (Gordillo, 1988; 1990), the conclusions reached have not received the necessary attention. Thus, it has been empirically proven that even if the gap between the spaces and activities considered masculine and feminine is slowly disappearing and that it survives only in a few specific areas, it is in verbal interaction that such differences show the most. The first verification - according to Subirats - is that boys are more spoken to than girls (26% more) as they demand greater attention from teachers. The well known phenomenon of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" seems also to take place in mixied classrooms where it is assumed that boys are better at mathematics while girls have better linguistic capacity.

In conclusion, research has shown as follows:

1) Kindergarten and primary schools are still sexist, not so much in their structure as in their practices which establish differences in the treatment given to boys and girls.
2) Schools are mixed but not coeducational, as there is only one predominant model traditionally considered masculine. The education given to male and female students tends to become homogeneous, not as a result of the merging of two models but through the predominance of one of the two. The feminine space and values are not taken into account and tend to disappear.

3) Sexism does not lie so much in a difference in contents as in a difference in attention which probably results in the internalizing on the part of girls of a certain feeling of withdrawal.
4) This tendency in teachers to leave the world of girls out is unconscious and it is more noticeable in female teachers and older teachers.
5) Education should be looked at not only in terms of equal attention to girls, but also as a reflection on the cultural model which is being transmitted (Subirats, 1988).

Other researches have focused on the presence and different roles of women in school books. It has been concluded that the presence of women in school books is not only much smaller, but also of a different quality from the presence of boys or men (Garreta y Careaga, 1987).

The problem of coeducation in Spain remains unsolved. As we have pointed out above, mixed teaching cannot really be called coeducation. The need for more empirical and comparative research is obvious, but it is necessary that single-sex schools do not disappear: if traditionally they have played an important part in education, today we need them for purposes of comparison (Martial and Gordillo, 1992).

10.6 THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES PLAN FOR WOMEN (1988-1990): EDUCATION

Government policies implemented through the Instituto de la Mujer (Women's Institute) imply that if a different treatment

is still given to male and female students in the educational system, it is because not all the consequences of mixed teaching have been drawn yet. It is therefore assumed that in many cases the educational system confirms the current stereotypes of sexual discrimination and that, far from helping eliminate them, it consolidates them. Coeducation has to be developed, encouraging the change of attitudes within school practices.

Because not all the differences which happen inside the educational system arise from the system itself, it is necessary at the same time to implement cultural measures which encourage a change in the image of women that is given through advertising and in the media as a rule.

Such policy in favour of equality in education and culture is based on five basic objectives:

1) fight sexist stereotypes in teaching material and in curricula;
2) encourage a change of attitudes in teachers through a continued initial training;
3) guarantee equal opportunities for boys and girls in their access to all kinds of teaching in order to make it possible for all individuals fully to develop their capacities;
4) conform permanent education to women's specific needs;
5) encourage in the different media an image of women which is not discriminatory nor stereotyped.

Each of these objectives is based on specific actions which concern the different Ministries. The coordination and supervising of the plan is the responsibility of the Ruling Council of the Ministries).

10.7 EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION

Spain has undoubtedly reached a high level both in schooling and equal educational opportunities for women. Technological developments have of course contributed to social progress and women have been clearly benefited. This has nevertheless resulted in a certain ambiguity in the roles and it may not have been taken in entirely, therefore a certain balance is felt to be lacking which would keep women from extreme positions.

There would be a great danger in not overcoming the attitudes of an initial feminism, political and vindictive, which demands the unification of both sexes at all costs, thus extending what could be considered as masculine values and despising feminine ones.

Il is true that certain feminist movements today do not claim an equality based on adopting and imitating masculine ways, but rather demand an entirely new restatement of social values. Such views are too recent to have been implemented in an educational model, but they are indeed foreseen in trends that wish to educate what is both masculine and feminine in individuals - men and women -. If they were to be captured in

an educational ideal, such views would stand for the development of a series of personal possibilities which are not in principle exclusive to either sex and would make possible a better human society.

Equality has been a constant concern in recent years and in a democratic society it cannot be expected to be otherwise. The real challenge is in keeping up the momentum and in the evaluation of the measures that are adopted. And yet at this point it is necessary to call for caution which in the scientific field implies more research in order to avoid getting rid of essentials when eliminating the unnecessary and to aim at really relevant objectives. Asking for the introduction of a new outlook does not necessarily imply the refusal of existing ones.

What is really vital is permitting the existence of a private system along with a state system, of single sex schools along with mixed schools. Only thus will be possible to confirm to what an extent one or the other achieve their educational goals.

The Spanish Instituto de la Mujer (Women's Institute), as the integrating body of all measures supporting equality between sexes, has achieved considerable positive results which in a sense are a result too of a specific socio-cultural situation. Nevertheless it would be desirable that this would no longer be considered a political issue so that it could better foster the needs and interest of a greater number of women without imposing

ideological guidelines whose value for the feminist cause has often been doubted.

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11. THE SITUATION IN URUGUAY

Yael Duthilleul

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Uruguay is a small country of 176.215 square kilometers located between two South American giants: Brazil and Argentina. Its population has been less than 3 million for many years, as the result of a low natality rate and recent emigrations[41]. Most of the people have a European origin, mainly Spanish and Italian, although you can also find French. All indigenous groups were eliminated at the time of the conquest (although recent theories appear to locate single individuals of local descent, they do not constitute a defined group in society).

Over 50% of the population lives in the capital, Montevideo. Despite the fact that Uruguay's traditional activities have been cattle breeding and agriculture, only 10-12% of the population lives in rural areas, the rest of it lives in urban centers. The

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41 Proportion of men/women in the population: 95 men/100 women. There is a clear domination of women in urban areas, the extreme value is found in Montevideo, with 86 men to 100 women. The reverse case appears in rural areas, where men dominate: the extreme case is found in the rural areas of Durazno, with 181 men to 100 women.
According to Census data of 1963, women between 80 and 84 represented 53% more than men in the same age bracket, while women over 90 years of age represent more than double the number of men of the same age.

official language is Spanish, which is spoken all over the territory, with the exception of certain regions in the border with Brazil where people are more influenced by Portuguese and tend to speak both or a mixture of both languages.

Uruguay has always been considered a particular country in the South American region, once named "the Switzerland of America". Education has traditionally been valued as a means to achieve a higher social status. The country's high level of literacy rate (95%) has always been a sign of prestige.

The status of women in society appears to be more advanced than in other "under-developed" countries, considering women's education and participation in the labour market. We will examine those aspects in more detail in the following paper.

11.2 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The evolution of the Uruguay legal framework concerning women's rights took place gradually, but firmly.

The first written constitution of the country (1830) denied women the right to be considered citizens and it was not until 1938 that women voted for the first time. A real advancement took place with the approval of the Law for Women's Civil Rights in 1946. The law endowed women with the same legal

capacity as men, recognized their maternal rights and gave them autonomy over their estate.

Besides the constitutional regulations of labour in general, there are special legal provisions intended for the protection of working women, especially pregnant women. Several decrees ban women from handling toxic substances or from dangerous jobs, or give maternal leave and flexibility of working hours in the first months after delivery. In addition several international agreements have been ratified by Uruguay. In 1981, the country ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

In 1987, as a response to the world-wide concern on women's issues and the need specially to address them, the National Government created the Women's Institute. The Institute is located in the Ministry of Education and Culture but its members are representatives of the Ministries of Public Health, Labour and Social Security, Agriculture, and Education and Culture. There are several commissions working for the Institute, each one dealing with specific aspects of women's issues: Women and Health; Women and Education; Legislation; Rural Women; Women and Mass Media; Women and Work; and Women and Family.

The main objectives of the Institute are to make an assessment of women's situation and to promote legislative and

political actions to assure women's participation in society. One of its activities is to inform women about their rights, resources available to them, and distribute written information on special legal, medical and social issues.

In addition to this, there are special commissions dealing with Women's Affairs at the Senate and a few non-government organizations specialized on women's issues. Unfortunately the Women's Institute to this day has not been able to lead in actions concerning women's issues.

11.3 THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES

Regarding women's access to education, the primary Education Reform of 1877 promoted the idea that a democratic society was based on an equal access to education. As a consequence of this, the enrollment of women in primary education was equal to that of men from the beginning.

The situation at the secondary level was somehow different. Although the legislation had guaranteed women the right to have access to it, it was not until 1912, when the first "Women's University" was opened, that women began attending it. It seems that social prejudice was preventing women from from reaching higher levels of education.

In 1916, women represented 6,5% of the enrollments at the secondary level (see Table 1). The evolution in the number of female enrollments would increase over the years to the point of surpassing the men's enrollments in the 1940s.

In 1915, the School for Vocational Training opened new options for women: sewing, lace-making and embroidering among others. Women were also allowed to register for other more non-traditional courses like carpentry and bookbinding. In 1923 the number of men was 2.812 versus 2.562 women (Villamil & Sapriza, 1984, p. 93).

Table 1:Evolution of Enrollments in Secondary Education (Source: Villamil and Sapriza, 1984. (% over the total male/female population from 10-19 years)

Year	Students (M)	%	Students (F)	%
1929	5522	2,93	4186	2,33
1934	8252	4,37	6351	3,53
1939	10285	5,17	8073	4,25
1944	14270	7,13	12796	6,64
1949	16278	8,47	17821	9,51
1954	23817	12,29	26294	14,02
1959	33265	16,20	36428	18,33

The first University graduates were the Luisi sisters, Pauline as a Medical Doctor in 1908 and Clotilde as a Lawyer

in 1911. The situation at the University level has quite changed since then[42].

In 1986 the number of women graduating from the University represented 57,8% of the total number of graduates (DGES[43], 1986). The number of graduating women was larger than that of men in most of the Schools and Faculties.

In addition, we see that women's level of education is higher than of men (DGES, 1985): 15,6% of women completed between 10 and 12 years of education versus 14,2% of men. More women also continued their studies beyond 13 years (97,400 women versus 68,800 men). This fact is true both in the capital and in the rest of the country (interior). In fact, the difference is larger

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42 The public University of the Republic is organised in 10 faculties (Law, Engineering, Economics, Architecture, Humanities and Sciences, Medicine, Chemistry, Veterinary, Agronomy and Odontology) and a series of Schools and Institutes (Business Administration, Psychology, Beaux Arts, Nurses, Music, Nutritionists, Librarians, etc.). The schools and institutes have a more recent history and usually offer shorter programs and degrees. There has been some recent restructuring, e.g. the School of Psychology is now an Institute, The Faculty of Humanities and Sciences has been transformed into the Faculty of Humanities and Education and a separate Science section. When one reports Schools usually wants to make a point about new field developing, attracting more students to non-traditional areas, and shorter degrees. However, the distinction has somehow lost relevance by the fact that some schools have developed long career programs and are trying to get official recognition for the professional equivalence of the degrees they grant. For the purpose of this chapter, there is no need to make the distinction, so we can just refer to Schools and Faculties as "the public higher education system" or the public University.

43 DGES: Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (official publications from the National Census Office).

in the interior of the country: 12% of women completed between 10 and 12 years of study, 10% of men did so.

Table 2: Number of University Graduates in 1986

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
Agronomy	171	141	30
Architecture	69	49	20
Economy	304	161	143
Law &Soc.Sc.	1096	400	696
Humanities &Sc	61	15	46
Engineer	355	256	99
Medicine	346	168	178
Dentistry	130	39	91
Chemistry	40	8	32
Veterinary	149	90	59
Schools (total)	933	141	792
TOTAL	3654	1458	2186

Sources: DGES, 1986.

This tendency for women to reach higher levels of education overall in the country will no doubt have an impact in society at large. The future generation brought up by these well educated women and the potential they represent for the country's development cannot be overlooked. Nonetheless, the place assigned to women in the labour market does not parallel the advances made at the educational level.Table 3: Overall level of education attained by the population in 1985.

Table 3 Overall level of education attained by the population in 1985

MONTEVIDEO *						
Level of Education	Total		Men		Women	
No Instr.	29.7	(2,8%)	10.9	(2,3%)	18.8	(3,3%)
With Instr	1018.9	(96,5%)	465.0	(97,%)	553.9	(96,1%)
0-3 yrs.	86.4	(8,2%)	38.5	(8,0%)	47.9	(8,3%)
4-6 yrs.	401.0	(38%)	175.8	(36,7%)	225.2	(39,1%)
7-9 yrs.	208.7	(19,8%)	105.1	(22,%)	103.6	(18,%)
10-12 yrs.	206.6	(19,6%)	94.5	(19,7%)	112.1	(19,4%)
+ 13 yrs.	116.1	(11 %)	51.0	(10,6%)	65.1	(11,3%)
INTERIOR *						
Level of Education	Total		Men		Women	
No Instr.	88.6	(7,1%)	44.5	(7,1%)	44.1	(7,1%)
With Instr.	1153.9	(92,3%)	581.1	(92,3%)	572.9	(92,3%)
-3 yrs.	196.9	(15,8)	105.7	(16,8%)	91.2	(14,7%)
4-6 yrs.	550.1	(44%)	278.6	(44,3%)	271.5	(43,7%)
7-9 yrs.	219.3	(17,5%)	116.2	(18,5%)	103.1	(16,7%)
10-12 yrs.	137.7	(11 %)	62.9	(10 %)	74.8	(12%)
+ 13 yrs.	50.0	(4%)	17.7	(2,8%)	32.3	(5,2%)

Source: DGES, 1985.

* in thousands

11.4 EMPLOYMENT

A recent report on working women (Mendez, 1988) indicates that the number of women over 14 years of age that work or are seeking a job for the first time has significantly increased between 1975 and 1985. In 1985 women represented 33% of the total working population (about 380.000 women), 77.000 more than in 1975.

The increase in the number of working women has been more significant in urban than in rural areas. Between 1967 and 1986 the rate of activity among women increased from 27% to 45%.

It is interesting to remark that at the same time, the number of children attending preschool has almost doubled (from 31,794 in 1970 to 55,524 in 1986).The increase has been more significant in public preschools and in the interior of the country than in the capital. These facts contribute to prove that increase in the number of working women was a result of the economic crisis of those years.

With respect to the characteristics of working women, we see that about 61% of those working have some kind of domestic responsibility as well. There has been a change in the age distribution of working women: it used to be that the peak of

activity among women was between the ages of 20 to 25. Nowadays, in Montevideo, we observe a maximum of activity between 30 and 40 that is sustained until 54 years. Working women have attained a higher level of education than men and level of education positively correlates with having a job (72% of women with a university degree work).

Regarding the categories of work, 76% of working women are employees or have a blue collar job, representing 42% of those working in that category. There are very few owners (1,8%) among women, but 76% of those working in family job that do not receive a salary are women. The majority of these workers are in the commercial sector. In addition, more women (104.000) than men (73.000) work in what are considered "informal" jobs (independent workers, maids, etc.).

Fewer women are working in the industrial sector while more are working in services. The proportion of women among Communal, Social and Personal Services, including among them public employees, teachers, nurses, and domestic service, is of almost 60%.

Table 4: Structure of women's occupations by area, 1981-1986

Area of Activity	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Industry	27	21	22	21	22	21
Commerce	16	17	16	16	16	16
Services	47	53	53	52	53	55
Other	10	9	9	11	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Mendez, 1988.

Table 5: Proportion of women by area of activity

Area of Activity	Women	Total	%
Industry	56 200	141 800	40
Commerce	40 400	105 800	38
Services	136 900	235 500	58
Other	19 800	115 200	17
seek job first time	9 900	15 300	65
Total	263 200	613 600	43

Source: Mendez, 1988.

11.5 FAMILY LIFE

Certain characteristics of the population should be mentioned before discussing aspects of family life in Uruguay.

The number of people over 60 years of age has increased over the years from 4% in 1908 to 12% in 1963. This increase can be considered normal for a population with a low fertility rate (18,1

per 1000). Nonetheless, the increase has been different for the sexes, being larger for women. This fact is also represented by the increase in life expectancy as indicated in the Table 6:

Table 6: Life Expectancy by Sex

Period	Men	Women
1908-09	49.49	52.20
1963-64	65.51	71.56
1974-76	65.66	72.41
1984-86	68.43	74.88

Source: DGES,1986.

Another important aspect of the Uruguayan population is its differential distribution by geographic area. Women represent the majority in urban areas while men are dominant in rural areas. This fact is even more significant in terms of ages of the population, showing that women in their reproductive age are leaving the rural areas. The implications of this tendency for the development of the rural family should be a matter of serious consideration.

The number of marriages celebrated in what is considered the Interior of the country has decreased in the last 15 years from 52,2% to 50% of the total number of marriages. The number of divorces in the Interior on the other hand has increased from 35,4% to 44,15. This is explained by two things: one, a declining tendency of people to get married (preferring

other kinds of relationships) and also by the lack of women in rural areas, as was shown in the preceding paragraph.

The fertility rate has decreased from 3,00 in 1970-75 to 2,76 in 1980-85 and it is projected that by the years 2010-2015 it will go down to 2,21. The number of illegitimate children born has increased from 23,5% in 1975 to 26% in 1984, confirming the increase in the number of couples not married but living together that was already mentioned.

The number of children born changes according to the level of instruction attained by women, their marital status, and the geographic area where they live.

Table 7 indicates that women with no instruction living in rural areas are those that have most children, an average of 3.70 children born per woman. At the other end, women with secondary school or more, living in Montevideo, have an average of less than two children (1,73).

With respect to the marrital status of the mother, we observe for example, that in the department of Treinta y Tres, the range of these averages changes dramatically.

Unmarried (co-habiting) women have an average of five children while single women have an average of 1,49. These values also change according to the area of residence. Single women living in isolated areas have an average of almost 3

Table 7: Number of children born by level of instruction of the mother and geographic area of residence (1975)

Geographic Area	Total	Level of Education		
		No Instr. Incomplete Prim	Primary Complete	Secondary and higher
Total	2,52	3,07	2,19	1,86
Montevideo	1,97	2,33	1,82	1,73
Urban Uruguay (without Mvdeo)	2,98	3,47	2,56	2,10
Rural Uruguay	3,32	3,60	2,87	2,55

Source: DGES

children while married women living in the same kind of isolated ares have 5.

Table 9: Number of children born to women according to their marital status and area of residence (1975)

Area	Total	Marital Status		
		Married	Unmarried co-habiting	Single
Treinta y tres	3,18	3,05	5,06	1,49
Towns	3,17	3,05	5,05	1,32
Isolated	3,34	5,05	5,19	2,80

Source: DGES.

11.6 PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDED POLICIES

One of the main obstacles that affects women's situation in Uruguay is part of our cultural values and traditions. In spite of the high number of women joining the work force and the large proportion of women among University graduates that in other countries would be a reflection of a new model for women, in Uruguay these facts are due to other reasons. Women have joined the work force in recent years not seeking their independence but as a solution to the economic crisis that the family was suffering (Melgar and Teja, 1986). Regarding the high level of women at the University, we cannot forget that education is free at all levels in Uruguay and has a long

tradition in the typical Uruguayan family. The image of women as "social reproducers" and educators of the future promoted the access of women to higher levels of education since the beginning of the century.

The popular belief is that women's major responsibilities are to take care of their children and the house. Although a large number of women work, their job is still considered a "supplement" and not a main income and no matter how hard women work, they are still responsible for the domestic chores. As Juan Carlos Fortuna (1986) in his study of the model that the different family members have of the role that women should have in our society concludes, the feminine image is still tied exclusively to a "reproductive role". That general image of women in our society influences women themselves, who end up accepting and defending such a traditional view of women's role in society. Women believe that they are essential to the good functioning of the home and feel "guilty" because they have to leave it in order to work. In the most deprived areas of society, where women's work is more regular, the wish is to earn enough money so that women can stop working and return to their domestic activities.In more affluent sectors, women have other women as substitutes in their domestic roles, which permits than to maintain the same family dynamics: men work and women take care of the home.

If the government decides to pay serious attention to the condition of women, they will necessarily have to support a new image for women, valuing their work, their new role in society while at the same time promoting shared responsibility between spouses for the education and care of children.

Another main issue to solve is the kind of structure women need in order to work. The need to develop a public day-care system for infants and preschoolers as well as extended care for school-age children (public primary school lasts only four hours a day) is evident if the goal is to promote a more active role of women in our society.

11.7 CONCLUSION

Despite an advanced and modern legislation dealing with the status of women Uruguay has only recently begun to discuss more openly the topic of women's condition in society. We can informally notice in the press and other media that women are beginning to receive more attention and be recognized by their capacity to work. Nonetheless, we still lack a clear policy on the matter, a defined structure to support the promotion of women, and cultural values that accept women's new roles. More important, women themselves need to acknowledge the important economic and social role they play in society. The good background we have in terms of legislation, the large number of women reaching higher levels of education, and the

increase in the number of women joining the work force, allow us to foresee an optimistic future for women in Uruguay, as long as we continue working for it.

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12. NATIONAL POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN ZIMBABWE

Rosemary Gordon

12.1 INTRODUCTION

It is not possible to isolate policies for the education of women and girls in Zimbabwe from other socio-economic policies and the economic, legal and political statuses of women. Educational policies both prior to and since independence (1980) have been an integral part of overall government policies formulated within the context of colonial and post-colonial patriarchal societies.

The major concern of colonial government was the maintenance of a colonial economy, and the protection of the white settler population through the establishment and perpetuation of a system of racial segregation. This was reflected in education policy, the emphasis here being placed on the limitation of educational opportunity for the black majority to prevent the growth of a class of skilled and educated Africans.

Whilst there was no specifically stated policy for the education of women and girls, colonial government's western patriarchal ideology informed all socio-economic policies. The perception of women as primarily housewives and mothers and

of men as breadwinners and family heads underscored legislation, conditions of employment and school curricula (Commission of Enquiry into Inequalities or Disabilities as Between Men and Women, 1956).

Racism coupled with sexism impacted differently on girls and women of different races. Black women who constituted the largest group in the population, were the most disadvantaged. White women, whilst faring better than both men and women of other racial groups, were also subject to sexual discrimination.

At independence the new government sought first and foremost to redress racial inequalities. However, government's recognition of the subordinate position of, and discrimination against women was explicitly expressed in general policy statements, and attempts were made to redress the situation, mainly by the introduction of new legislation.

12.3 WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY

The precolonial economies of Zimbabwean societies were mainly agricultural and pastoral and were based on a communal land tenure system. Communal land was allocated to the male family head who in turn allocated land to his wife or wives for their subsistence agriculture. As well, the wife or wives worked on the husband's land and any produce therefrom

was his property, as was any surplus from the land allocated to his wife or wives (Kazembe, 1986).

Colonisation was initiated by massive appropriation of land and Native Reserves were set aside for African use in the ecologically poorest areas of the country. African men were compelled to migrate in search of wage employment. The majority remaining in the reserves were women who continued subsistence agriculture, taking over many of the tasks traditionally performed by men. In this way the sexual division of labour was distorted to serve the needs of the colonial economy, placing increasing physical and financial burdens upon black women.

Despite the development of a modern industrial and commercial sector and urbanisation, African women in the main remained peasant farmers. Few women, particularly married women, migrated to the towns as legislation and other regulations restricted the movement of Africans (Gann, 1965). Of those black women who did migrate to urban centres the majority were involved in private domestic labour and in the non-formal sector (e.g. street vending, beer brewing). Most of the African women employed in the formal sector were casual agricultural labourers, and the rest were employed in western stereotypical "feminine" occupations, nursing and teaching.

White women and women of other races were also mainly employed in the "feminine" occupations in the formal sector.

Labour legislation, regulations and conditions of employment were highly discriminatory for women of all races, women earning substantially less than their male counterparts of the same race (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989; Kazembe, 1986). As a result of racial discrimination however, the earnings of white women were higher and conditions of employment more favourable than those of men of other races. African women earned least of all. In the public sector employment of women was seen as temporary, the main roles of women being considered those of housewife and mother. On marrying, women were employed only on a temporary basis in this sector with no maternity, sickness or other benefits.

Two years after independence women, although constituting about 53% of the adult population, constituted only 39% of the labour force in Zimbabwe. Of the labour force, 42% were communal farmers, the majority being women. Nine per cent of the labour force worked in the informal sector and of these 90% were women. Only 8% of women worked within the formal sector constituting 16% of those employed in this sector, of whom many were seasonal agricultural workers (Statistical Yearbook, 1987).

12.3 THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE

Two bodies of law operated during the colonial period. Common (or general) law derived from Roman Dutch law was adapted to suit British legal structures and procedures and applied to all citizens. Customary law was applicable to Africans only and was based on the laws of precolonial African societies (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989; Kazembe, 1986). Since patriarchy and thus the subordinate position of women were common to both precolonial and colonial societies, no attempt was made by the colonial government to alter the inferior legal status of black women.

African women, as minors for life, remained under the guardianship of men, (father, husband, brother, brother-in-law). They were unable to enter into contracts, had no rights to guardianship of children, nor to inherit family (husband's) property (May, 1983). Whilst an African woman could enter into civil marriage (governed by common law and thus monogamous) she could only do so with the permission of her male guardian and the customary laws governing ownership of property, inheritance and guardianship of children applied.

Women of other races were controlled by common law, fundamental to which was the concept of man as family head and breadwinner and the guardian of his offspring. In this

regard the Commission of Enquiry into Inequalities or Disabilities as between Men and Women (1956) had this to say, "It is impossible to have two captains of a ship or two chairmen of a meeting".

This Commission was appointed as a result of representations made by the National Council of Women and was charged with investigating hardship caused to women under common law (i.e. not black women) relating to family and marital matters. The National Council of Women submitted that the changes which had taken place in the position of women elsewhere during the first half of this century necessitated concomitant changes in the law in Rhodesia, especially with regard to guardianship of children and maintenance upon divorce. The Council did not challenge the subordinate position of women in society. Their submission stated, "We are frequently reminded that Woman's place is in the home.With this we most sincerely agree...", which led the Commission to comment upon the "commendable moderation" with which the women presented their case.

Despite this moderation and the Commission's finding that there was substance to many of the suggested alterations to the law, the Commission concluded that there was little concrete evidence of hardship caused through the legal deficiencies that did exist and thus none of the amendments suggested by the

Commission were matters of urgency. Ironically the legal changes sought by white women and their organisations in 1956 were only effected 26 years later after independence and were applied to women of all races.

The colonial economic and legal systems were the foundation upon which sexual discrimination and racial segregation rested and were the means by which traditional African systems were distorted and modified and by which patriarchal structures were maintained and perpetuated during the colonial period.

12.4 COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY

The government's racially and sexually discriminatory policy was mirrored in other areas. The system of education was developed to meet the demands of the colonial economy for a supply of plentiful, cheap, unskilled black labour and the maintenance of a rural home to which this labour could return on retirement and in times of unemployment and ill health.

Two systems of education operated during the colonial period, in keeping with government's policy of racial segregation. Education policies were race-specific but gender-neutral, and as in other areas, racism and sexism affected girls and women of different races to different degrees and in different ways.

Education for all white children, and children of Asian descent and of mixed-race, was compulsory[44]. Schools were rigidly racially segregated, and the state offered non-fee-paying education to all children of these racial groups at schools that were well equipped and well staffed.

Education for black children was neither free nor compulsory and inequalities in government expenditure on black and white education led to highly inadequate provision, and a lower quality of education for black children. In 1971 there were 85 government African primary schools, 17 government African secondary (only 2 of which offered tuition to "A" level), and 31 junior secondary schools (existing for Africans only) which offered vocational tuition (Dorsey, 1975, p. 73).

Relative to the population few government African schools were situated in the rural areas, and in some areas, especially those furthest from the urban centres, there were no schools at all. Many Africans turned to the mission schools for education as a result of inadequate provision by government. In 1971, 56 of

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44 For purposes of education mixed-race (coloured) and Asian (Indian) children were classified white (European) and their education was administered by the Department of European Education within the Ministry of Education. They did not, however, attend the same schools as white children. Whites constituted approximately 4,4 per cent, Asians 0,6 per cent, people of mixed-race 0,32 per cent and Blacks (Africans) 95 per cent of the population (Population Census, 1969).

the secondary schools in the country were mission schools (Dorsey, 1975, p. 73).

Black girls, suffering both racial and sexual discrimination, were those most educationally disadvantaged, particularly rural girls. The shortage of school places for black children, costs of education, and traditional attitudes, norms and roles with respect to gender combined to create tremendous obstacles to black girls acquiring formal education. Most African societies were traditionally patrilineal and patrilocal and as a result impoverished parents were often unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to cover the costs of educating girls who would on marrying join their husbands' family units. Furthermore formal education was often perceived as a threat to traditional feminine roles and the subordinate status of women.

12.5 SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE

Twenty years ago only 45,3% of African children of school-going age were in school, of whom 96,1% were in primary school, and 38% of black children had never attended school at all (Dorsey, 1975, p. 50). Only 3,9% of black school-going children were in secondary school. As a result very few black pupils reached forms IV and VI, and even fewer proceeded to

tertiary education. Of these few the minority were girls. In 1971 only 24,8% of form IV pupils were girls, and at form VI level 11% were girls (See Table I).

Table 1: Enrollment of African Pupils Forms IV and VI by Sex, 1971

	BOYS		GIRLS	TOTAL	
Form	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.
IV	1793	75,2	591	24,8	2384
VI	154	89,0	19	11,0	173

Source: Dorsey, 1975

School curricula for girls and boys in all schools differed, as did extra-curricular activities. Girls were channelled into feminine subjects such as home economics, shorthand and typing, whilst boys were offered metal work, wood work, technical drawing and so on in preparation for their adult occupational roles.

The opportunities for blacks, in particular girls and women, to obtain any type of vocational and technical training at tertiary level were limited. Occupations into which Africans could enter were restricted by law, to protect white skilled and semi-skilled workers from competition. Over and above this, technical occupations were perceived as masculine, and

preparation for vocational and technical training at schools was directed at boys.

Thus black girls who succeeded in acquiring formal educational skills and gaining employment, like girls of other races, entered the economy in western-stereotypical feminine occupations.

Whilst colonial government did not have an explicitly stated policy for the education of girls and women, the de facto policy was sexually discriminatory. The highly selective education system allocated blacks and whites, boys and girls, to different positions within the colonial socio-economic system.

12.6 GOVERNMENT POLICY AT INDEPENDENCE

At independence the stated policy of the government was based on the policy of the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU (PF)). The immediate objective of both ZANU (PF) and the government was to dismantle the system of racial segregation and to establish a non-racial egalitarian society (Growth With Equity, 1981).

The issue of women's emancipation had first been raised during the struggle for independence as a result of the important contribution of women to that struggle. Through participation in the struggle the level of consciousness was raised. The attainment of sexual equality was perceived to be

impossible until colonialism and institutionalised racism were done away with.

At independence women were for the first time recognised by government as an oppressed group. Of the 13 fundamental human rights and freedoms recognised by ZANU (PF), one was gender-specific, the right of women to equality with men

> in all spheres of political,economic,cultural and family life.Men and women will enjoy equal pay for equal work. Men and women shall marry of their own free will.The state will protect marriage,the family and the mother and child (ZANU (PF) Manifesto,1980).

Education was seen as a human right and necessity and an important instrument for achievement of equity. After independence therefore the government introduced free primary education for all children of school-going age and embarked upon an ambitious programme of educational expansion at all levels, including adult education. Government also made an effort to disallow discrimination against women in employment and to alter the legal status of women through the promulgation of new laws.

12.7 LEGAL CHANGES AFFECTING WOMEN AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The Constitution (also known as the Lancaster House Agreement) guarantees all Zimbabweans equal rights and protection from sex discrimination. However, gender-specific

rights and protection from sex discrimination are not explicitly included (Zimbabwe Constitution Order, 1979). Furthermore, certain articles relating to the perpetuation and protection of sexually discriminatory customary law were included. One such article states that no law shall contravene personal and customary law in (amongst others), matters of marriage, divorce, devolution of property on death (Chapter 3, Article 23). The legal means by which black women were oppressed during the colonial and precolonial periods were thus upheld in the new constitution.

Unable to alter the constitution for a decade (according to the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement), the government bypassed this obstacle through the introduction of new legislation. The most important and far reaching piece of legislation affecting the rights of women was the Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) which came into effect in December 1982, and which supersedes all law including customary law. Under LAMA all Zimbabweans irrespective of sex attain majority status at the age of 18. Women of all races now have the right of locus standi in juridicio, to enter into contracts (including marriage without consent of a male guardian), to own and dispose of personal property and rights to inherit and to guardianship of children (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989).

12.8 GENDER-SPECIFIC POLICIES

The Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCCDWA) was established in 1980 and was tasked with initiating means by which sex discrimination could be eradicated, and with initiating means by which sex equality could be achieved. During the decade of its existence the major thrust of this Ministry was the establishment of income-generating projects for women, particularly in rural areas. The existence of this Ministry led to the neglect of gender issues in other ministries and state departments. The Ministry of Education was no exception and specific policies on the education of girls and women were not formulated.

The MCCDWA "faced the problem of marginalisation and neglect", its programmes having low priority in the allocation of resources. Women were categorised with youth and mentioned only in relation to community development, health, and the informal sector in government plans (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989).

12.9 EDUCATION POLICY 1980-1990

Government's policy with regard to girls and women can be viewed within the context of overall policies, and more importantly the strategies utilised (or not utilised) to effect these policies.

As in other spheres, the major concern of the government was to do away with racial segregation in education. Universal primary education and the expansion of educational facilities, especially in the rural areas, were major objectives. In 1980 tuition fees at primary level were done away with and by 1985 the number of primary schools had almost doubled, and enrollments had increased by 370%. Secondary school enrollments had increased by 722% in the same period (Statistical Yearbook, 1987). Girls and boys benefited from this massive expansion and the introduction of cross education.

Education was perceived by government as a human right and the main instrument for the achievement of social equity (Growth with Equity, 1981). Education was also perceived as fundamental to development. Thus it was believed that cross education would contribute to the elimination of urban/rural inequalities, the eradication of poverty and the development of the country. The eradication of sex inequalities was never a specifically stated aim of education policy, and no gender-specific education policies were ever formulated.

13.10 GIRLS AND EDUCATION 1980-1987

Despite the tremendous increase in educational provision and the introduction of free primary education fewer girls than boys attended primary school. The attrition rate in each cohort

was greater for girls than boys, and was especially pronounced after four years of primary education (Table 2).

Even fewer girls make the transition to secondary school and here again the rate of attrition for each cohort is higher for girls than for boys. At form IV and VI levels the proportion of girls to boys has decreased since independence (See Tables 3 and 4).

Table 2: Percentage of pupils by Sex Primary Schools 1980-1990.

YEAR	Boys %	Girls %
1980	52,4	47,6
1982	52,0	48,0
1984	51,5	48,5
1986	51,2	48,8
1988	50,9	49,1
1990	50,7	49,3

Source: Reports of the Secretary for Education: 1980-1990

Table 3: Drop-out Rates Forms I-IV by Sex: 1983-1989

Year	1983	1985	1987	1989
Boys %	3,3	1,5	8,0	9,2
Girls %	5,0	7,4	10,4	13,6

Source: Reports of the Secretary for Education 1983-1989.

Table 4: Enrollment Forms IV and VI by sex: 1980-1990

YEAR	FORM IV		FORM VI	
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
1980	57,2	42,8	61,1	38,9
1982	58,7	41,3	63,8	36,2
1984	62,1	37,9	66,4	33,6
1986	62,1	37,9	73,3	26,7
1988	60,9	39,1	71,5	28,5
1990	57,7	42,3	62,0	38,0

Source: Reports of the Secretary for Education 1980-1990

Whilst black children of both sexes benefited from the introduction of mass education, girls have not had equal access to education particularly at higher levels within the school system. Traditional gender roles, societal norms and expectations and economic hardship continued to militate against girls acquiring and completing formal education, particularly rural girls in areas far from urban centres. Growing unemployment and the ever increasing cost of living rendered numerous parents unable to afford the costs associated even with free primary education. For many parents, the school fees, cost of uniform and other costs associated with secondary education have been prohibitive. Often, where choices have had to be made, sons, who have greater chances of securing employment, have been educated.

12.11 GENDER AND THE CURRICULUM

As elsewhere in Africa, Zimbabwe has a fairly traditional formal education system with regard to gender. Reforms in the content of the curriculum, syllabuses and materials to increase their relevance to local conditions, have not included changes in the depiction of gender roles and the sex-biased hidden curriculum inherited at independence has continued to operate. Girls have been directed into traditionally feminine subject areas, such as fashion and fabrics and food and nutrition in conformity with societal norms and expectations. Anticipatory socialisation continues to prepare girls for stereotypical feminine occupations. Although more women than men are engaged in agriculture, agricultural science, like all science subjects, has been perceived as a masculine area in schools. Fewer girls than boys in secondary schools study math and science subjects (Dorsey et al, 1991).

At school girls perform more poorly than boys. Girls do not do so well as boys in the Grade Seven Examinations, written at the end of the final year of primary schooling. This trend continues at secondary school where girls perform more poorly than boys in the 'O' level examinations, particularly in math and science subjects (Dorsey et al, 1991). As a result fewer girls than boys qualify for, and proceed to form VI and tertiary education (See table 4).

12.12 WOMEN AND TERTIARY EDUCATION SINCE 1980

Expansion of tertiary education facilities since independence has been considerable, and here too both black women and men have benefited. However, with few exceptions the proportion of female to male students has not increased. Although expansion has resulted in a wider field of choice for women, they still remain a minority, especially in science and technical departments.

In the first five years of independence only one per cent of women students in technical and vocational institutions were studying technical and science subjects. Ninety-nine per cent were enrolled in the departments of commerce, catering and hair-dressing (*Vocational/Technical Training in Zimbabwe*, 1986). Since 1980 women have constituted less than 2% of students at technical colleges (Reports of the Secretary for Education, 1980-1990).

Table 5: Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment University of Zimbabwe by sex 1988.

Faculty	Men %	Women %
Agriculture	83,7	16,3
Arts	59,5	40,5
Commerce	75,7	24,3
Education	72,0	28,0
Engineering	98,5	1,5
Law	68,8	31,2
Medicine	74,6	25,4
Science	82,2	17,8
Social Studies	76,0	24,0
Veterinary Science	87,0	13,0
Total	76,0	24,0

Source: Dorsey 1989.

Of the students registered at the University of Zimbabwe each year since 1980, approximately 25% have been women the majority of whom were enrolled in the faculties of Arts, Commerce, Law, Medicine, Social Studies and Education (See Table 5).

12.13 WOMEN AND ADULT EDUCATION

At independence the government initiated programmes of non-formal education and adult literacy. Many non-governmental and aid organisations have been instrumental in effecting these programmes, particularly programmes directed at women. Estimates of the number of illiterates in Zimbabwe at independence varied, from approximately one to two million, with about 1,5 million being the officially accepted figure (Herald, 1990).

The majority of illiterates are women, mainly rural women. Some success has been achieved, but as in other spheres mainly affecting women, adult literacy and non-formal education have suffered from neglect and inadequate resources and a low priority has been given to the funding of these programmes by government. Thus,

> By 1985, illiteracy among those aged 15 years and above had been reduced to 26 per cent compared with 31,2 per cent in 1980. But between 1982 and 1985, there was an increase among women from 764 000 to 779 000 while for the same period men registered a marked reduction in illiteracy (*Herald*, 1990).

12 14 ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND EDUCATION

In 1989 the Zimbabwe government introduced an economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP), the effects of which on educational policy became marked in 1992.

Emphasis on equity and education as a human right was abandoned. Primary school fees were substantially increased. Also 'O' and 'A' level fees were raised as were other (non-tuition) fees such as building fees, industrial fees and general purpose fees[45]. In 1992 the number of candidates who registered for "O" and "A" level examinations dropped by 17% (*Sunday Mail*, 1992).

The reintroduction of and raising of school fees is consistent with the overall policy of cutting state funding of social services, and other austerity measures fundamental to ESAP. Increased costs of educational and health services, together with devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar, inflation, and retrenchment of workers since the introduction of ESAP have placed enormous financial burdens on the majority of Zimbabweans.

Whilst it has been recognised by government that such austerity measures as those mentioned above negatively affect and particularly disadvantage women and girls, no gender-specific policies have been formulated to protect women and

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45 These fees have been levied on all pupils since 1980 to cover the costs of school expansion, building, purchase of books and equipment and materials used by pupils in vocational subjects. Thus free education has meant non-payment of tuition fees.

girls from the effects of ESAP in the educational or other socio-economic spheres.

12.15 CONCLUSION

The introduction of mass education at independence, and the formulation of educational policies based on the perception of education as a human right, important as they are, have been inadequate means of bringing about the social changes necessary for equality of educational opportunity for girls and women in Zimbabwe. The assumption that gender-neutral policies can effect such change is dubious.

The western middle-class gender roles, norms and values promoted by the education system over the last thirty years have not (to any great extent) displaced traditional gender roles, nor empowered women. As many women in Zimbabwe are illiterate or semi-literate (particularly in English) and are living at, and below subsistence level they are unable to offer alternative role models for their daughters, and they do not possess the financial resources nor cultural capital necessary to ensure their daughters' educational success. Even where black women in Zimbabwe have succeeded educationally they have modified their aspirations and roles to conform with the western-stereotypical feminine roles, norms and values of the school and wider society.

Levels of feminist awareness and action differ among different groups of women in Zimbabwe (as elsewhere). Education is universally recognised as a key factor in the improvement of the lives of women and in the achievement of sex equality. However, emphasis is placed on different factors depending upon the differing socio-economic realities of women's lives, and education is seen as a means to achieving different goals.

Where rural women have organised themselves into clubs, societies and cooperatives the major thrust has been to improve the quality of their lives through improved income. As well, education is seen as a means of improving productivity and skills related to family nutrition, sewing, knitting, child care and so on, by the majority of Zimbabwean women who live in grinding poverty. Projects have therefore tended to be directed towards enabling women to carry out traditional women's roles more effectively. The situation is similar for urban women in the lowest socio-economic strata.

The majority of middle-class women of all races tend to accept western middle-class stereotypical gender roles, norms and values, often welcoming the legal changes that have benefited women, but not actively nor consciously involving themselves in feminist issues.

A very small minority of women are active feminists challenging the existing situation and addressing the issues of women's empowerment and patriarchy. These feminists are in the main well educated intellectuals and professionals not burdened by poverty and the lack of formal education which is the lot of the majority of women in Zimbabwe.

General policies and legal enactments have not been effective in bringing about the structural changes prerequisite for the achievement of equality, even at the time when equity was a stated aim of the government. Gender-specific policies, strategies and programmes for the dismantling of patriarchal structures and their replacement with new structures in all socio-economic spheres and at all levels, including education, are necessary for the empowerment of women in order that they be able to enjoy the right to equality with men in Zimbabwe.

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13. NATIONAL POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN: THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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13.1 THE COMPLICATIONS OF STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The United Kingdom offers an example of the complications of defining a national policy, since the United Kingdom includes three separate systems of education, with separate legislation and school structures for each of the three. There is the system for England and Wales (central administrative authorities, The Department for Education (The DFE) known until 1992 as the Department of Education and Science (DES), and the Welsh Office); the system for Scotland (central administrative authority, the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED); the system for Northern Ireland central administrative authority, the Department of Education, Northern Ireland (DENI)). Thus, in so far as national policy may be incorporated in legislation, it has to be sought in three sets of educational legislation: and coordination between the systems, though it does exist, is rather less complete than might be expected.

It is also to be noted that in the British systems, there has been -until the early 1990s- considerable freedom for local authorities to determine matters of policy (within limits set by central legislation, of course). The situation in England indeed has been described as a national system, locally administered. This local administration has involved considerable policy-making within each local authority's boundaries -and there are 104 local authorities. Similarly in Scotland regional authorities (for nine regions, plus three island authorities) have adopted characteristic and individual styles, even if, with a smaller total population, centralising tendencies have been greater than in England. In Northern England, the five Education and Library Boards, created from earlier local authorities in the early years of the present "troubles", have had rather less opportunity to determine individual policies. But the fact remains that, so far as educational opportunities for girls and women are concerned, in the United Kingdom local policies may exercise considerable influence and different local authorities may take different actions to promote the educational advancement of girls and women. (Restructuring of local authorities from 1995 onwards may admittedly change the balance of power).

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What can be discovered as a central, "national" policy for the education of girls and women in the UK? There is no written constitution for the country as a whole, so there is no explicit statement of principles which might relate to such education. Some important information as to policies prevailing in education at any time may come from semi-official or consultative documents, e.g. from reports of committees appointed by the government to consider some aspect of education, or from the Inspectorates, rather than from formal statements by a government. Policy may be expressed also in general provisions -for welfare, or employment- which incidentally comprise educational provisions.

For England and Wales there was a move towards some centralisation of policy in education in 1988 when the Education Reform Act defined for these countries a "national curriculum", stating generally the content and stages of school education: but this Act made no reference to gender problems and, interestingly enough, was expressed in the traditional language which frequently uses the masculine pronoun, assuming that statements so worded may be taken to refer to females also. (Tradition is of course strong in legislative documents: but this characteristic is all the more striking at a time when, for example, various British universities have been

amending their official statements to avoid such sexist use of language). The reform of the curriculum in Northern Ireland (DENI, 1988), while including provision for Education for Mutual Undersatnding, similarly does not refer to the involvements of gender with education: nor do recent reforms of the curriculum in Scotland.

It could however be claimed that some central policy guidelines as to the education of girls and women may be traced in documents issued by the central Ministry authorities. In particular, in 1975 the publication of HM Inspectors' surveys of curricular differences for boys and girls in the schools of England and Scotland -(Curricular Differences for Boys and Girls (DES) and Differences of Provision for Boys and Girls in Scottish Secondary Schools (SED))- showed inequalities in the education received and noted the inferior position of women on school staffs. More recently HM Inspectors' Reports in England have surveyed factors which may affect girls' participation in the study of mathematics or science.

Much therefore is left to local authorities and indeed to individual schools. Unfortunately it is not possible to analyse here, separately, the policies of the various local authorities in the United Kingdom: some such authorities have shown awareness of possible discrimination against girls in

education and have tried to ensure greater equity but obviously their efforts affect only part of the population: and comparisons of the effectiveness of such efforts have not yet been made.

However, when we search for a national statement of policy, affecting all the British population, the one instance of a kind of declaration of policy for equal rights for girls and women (not only in education) is to be found in the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, which incorporated amendments and implementation of the Equal Pay Act of 1970 (and was itself amended, though not significantly where general principles are concerned, in 1986).

At this time it is difficult to determine which general movements or expressions of opinion by various organisations may have led to these remarkable pieces of legislation. It may be the case that the world-wide trends leading to the United Nations Decade for Women had some influence on the UK: such parallel pressures may have finally produced action. The fact that gender differences in school education had been analysed in the years preceding 1975 when the Inspectors' surveys were published would seem to indicate that there had been a development in official sensitivity to such differences in the early 70s. Whereas earlier reports on education had accepted as normal that girls and boys studied different subjects, left school after different amounts of education,

proceeded to different further education or employment, differentiation was now presented as rather undesirable, not only with regard to choices of subjects but also in the matter of appointments of men and women to positions of authority in schools.

Various organisations certainly could claim to have contributed to the change in the climate of opinion: for instance, women teachers' associations or some branches of the TUC had drawn attention to inequalities and proposed their elimination: but the influence of such pressures cannot well be quantified.

13.2. THE SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT OF 1975

Whatever the pressures leading to its formulation, the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 was "to render unlawful certain kinds of sex discrimination on the ground of marriage, and establish a Commission with the function of working towards the elimination of such discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity between men and women generally". Notably it defined two types of discrimination, direct -discrimination simply on the grounds of sex- and indirect, where an inessential condition is applied which is more difficult for women to meet than for men (or, possibly, vice versa). The Act also tried to ensure that there would be no victimisation of those

who might take action based on its provisions. And -an important provision, but also one particularly welcome to women weary of hearing the old jest that in documents which use masculine pronouns only "the male embraces the female"- the statement was made that "provisions ... relating to sex discrimination against women are to be read as applying equally to the treatment of men". Ironically, perhaps, this provision has been used by a number of men claiming that they have been discriminated against in employment (EOC, 1989) (though boys do not seem to have complained of discrimination excluding them from certain subjects of study).

Education was dealt with in Part III, sections 22-28, of the Act. The provisions here mainly set out the duties of local education authorities (and universities) to provide for females equal access and facilities in different types of educational establishments and courses (though the right of single-sex establishments to continue to be single-sex was maintained). The Act further made appropriate reference to the different authorities for education in England and Wales and Scotland who would be responsible for implementing this part of the Act and the different courts to which appeal could be made in these countries. (As this was not an Education Act, it applied to both systems).

The most interesting provision of the Act was the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission. The Commissioners (eight to fifteen in number, appointed by the Secretary of State) were

> to work towards the elimination of discrimination,
> to promote equality of opportunity between men and women generally, and
> to keep under review the working of this Act and the Equal Pay Act 1970 and, when they are so required by the Secretary of State or otherwise think it necessary, draw up and submit to the Secretary of State proposals for amending them.

What then was the outcome for the education of girls and women of a policy which at least tried to eliminate negative aspects of their education and eliminate handicaps on their subsequent careers?

13.3. THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION

The EOC established by the 1975 legislation has power to act in a variety of ways. It can carry out formal investigations: it can give assistance to people who are claiming that the Sex Discrimination or Equal Pay Acts are not being respected: it can issue Codes of Practice: it must monitor effects of health and safety legislation: it can undertake research or assist research and "educational activities": it can make enquiries

into matters outside the immediate scope of the two Acts which seem to affect the relative positions of men and women.

In practice, what the EOC has done in the field of education gives examples of the use of almost all these powers.

- It has carried out enquiries into the conduct of individual local education authorities, the first of these being in Tameside (1977), where it was alleged that the authority was not giving girls the same possibilities of entry to grammar school education as it was giving to boys. (In fact, the Report found that the authority was not at fault.)
- It has supported -where the case seemed reasonable- individuals claiming that they have suffered from an infringement of the Sex Discrimination Act, e.g. in being denied access to certain courses of study or to certain schools: where necessary legal assistance has been granted. An interesting example was the situation in Northern Ireland where the selection examination for grammar schools used separate lists for girls and boys: since the overall performance of girls was better, boys could be admitted to grammar school with lower marks than those obtained by some "rejected" girls. The decision here was that the same marks criterion must be used: so a large number of girls whom the differentiated criterion had indicated in the year of this judgment to be unsuitable for grammar schools had later to be admitted to such schools (TES (a), (b), 1988).
- It has produced a very considerable number of publications, advising people as to their rights, giving a model statement of equal opportunities policies, providing advice -e.g. Letters to a Thirteen Year Old

(1985), illustrating the situation of young women working in careers traditionally thought to be "masculine".

- It has funded research on matters affecting the education of girls and women -e.g. the GIST (Girls into Science and Technology) project (conjointly with the Social Science Research Council and Shell UK); and research on the "Wendy House" House syndrome- a study carried out in Northern Ireland to discover how adolescents perceive household tasks and male and female roles (EOC, N.I., 1988).
- It has sponsored educational activities, such as conferences to redress imbalance in Youth Service provisions, and the WISE (Women into Science and Engineering) campaign, organised for the year of 1984, in conjunction with the Engineering Council.

The Equal Opportunities Commission has thus assumed major importance in monitoring possible inequalities of educational provision for the two gender groups. Yet it has to be noted that, despite its publications of guidelines and helpful advice, it does tend, inevitably, to concentrate on cases where a defect is evident, rather than implement a policy for education. It has indeed no power to enforce a general policy. It tries to bring its publications to the attention of those teaching in schools: but here it meets the great autonomy of different educational authorities, and of individual schools. Consequently the efforts made by the EOC may be duplicated by a variety of other organisations, sometimes working in

13.4. OTHER AGENCIES WITH POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

While the EOC and the Act which established it could be taken as representing a kind of national policy, it is very evident that a number of other organisations also attend to matters of discrimination in education and, from time to time, make public their recommendations for the implementation of policies leading to equal opportunities.

Here may be noted the Women's National Commission, an advisory body whose members normally represent various women's organisations: it is appointed by the government to advise on matters affecting women. This Commission has produced a number of documents setting out the unfavourable situation which females may encounter in education, notably its Report of a Working Group on Secondary Education in 1983, which advised the government to allocate central funds to certain projects, e.g., to break down sex-segregated occupational choices and to remove sexist teaching materials. It suggested that an approach from the central government should be made to local authorities, asking them to improve the situation -and that the efforts made by local authorities should be monitored. Thus it indicated the need for a more centralised policy or policy implementation.

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Local authorities themselves are indeed engaging in some initiatives in the matter of lessening sex discrimination. Some -not always with popular approval- have appointed equal opportunities officers (whose responsibilities include attention to possible racial, religious or other discrimination as well as gender discrimination). Others have made surveys of situations affecting women in education within their territory -e.g., a Regional Review of Opportunities for Women in Higher Education was carried out by the Yorkshire and Humberside Council for Further Education in 1978; a check-list for teachers in schools in Humberside was devised in the 1980s to help them to discover whether sex bias did exist in their schools; guide-lines on avoiding inequalities were issued to teachers in primary schools in Brent (TES, 1985); a working group was set up by Strathclyde regional authority (the largest Scottish regional authority) in 1986 "to consider and report on proposals for the promotion of sex equality in the education service, including (a) curriculum, (b) in-service training, (c) teachers' staffing, (d) recruitment procedures, including advertising of posts, leeting, interviewing and selection" (Marsh, 1988). Whether young people find the effects of sex discrimination in education eliminated or reduced is thus likely to depend on the area of the country where they are living,

and on the strategies adopted by their local authority to implement its equality policy (if any).

Teachers' organisations have -to different degrees- manifested an interest in this matter. There has of course been in the past the bitter war waged by some women teachers to achieve equal pay. In the 1970s, the Association of Assistant Mistresses was active in pointing to the existence of circumstances putting girls at a disadvantage. In 1988, the National Union of Teachers produced a package of materials Towards Equality for Girls and Boys which was intended to enable schools to become aware of possible bias in materials, in assessment, in school organisation, etc...: it also provided a list for further reading as well as useful contact addresses. Significantly, perhaps, the Guidelines proposed that each local education authority should "prepare and publish an equal opportunities statement and policy relating to both curriculum and employment issues'.

Students themselves have become interested in the topic and have demanded better policies -thus, e.g., the National Union of Students has since 1983 provided its members with information about various forms of sex discrimination and held conferences to try to bring about improvements.

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In higher education also, women members of the Association of University Teachers have had their own section of the Association's Bulletin -AUT Woman- which has provided a forum for discussion of such matters as the situation of women working part-time in university teaching; various forms of possible discrimination in appointments; the development of women's studies. Yet for both teachers and students, recent problems associated with the financing of higher education have probably served to reduce attention to equal opportunities issues (though student loans policy may affect women more): simple survival becomes the main problem.

Still more agencies could be noted -women's associations and the TUC for instance- which call for action to remove sex discrimination in many fields, including education. There is no lack of individual initiatives. A relative newcomer to the field, for example, is the Women into Public Life Campaign, established in 1986.

Looking at this great variety of efforts, one could almost claim that somehow or other, by a process of social osmosis, a general national policy of providing equal opportunities and eliminating sex discrimination in all aspects of life in society, including education, is coming into existence in the United Kingdom. But is this enough?

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13.5. EFFECTS OF EXISTING POLICIES IN THE ABSENCE OF NATIONAL POLICY

To determine the effectiveness of these individual, though widespread, policies and to discover disadvantages which may result from the absence of one explicit, central national policy for women and girls in education, the actual situation must be considered. Has progress been made? Do women and girls remain disadvantaged?

Table 1: Attendance in full-time secondary schools, UK
Percentages of the age group.

	Boys		Girls	
	1965	1988	1965	1988
Age 15	59,11	100,6	58,74	100,0
Age 16	27,26	32,5	24,63	35,1
Age 17	15,38	19,4	12,19	20,0
Age 18 +	6,28	3,3	3,54	2,9

Source: Derived from Annual Abstract of Statistics, p.92. HMSO, 1990. It should be noted that the minimum school leaving age was raised to 16 in 1972: hence the change in both boys' and girls' attendance which was evident from 1974 onwards.)

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Both girls and boys have received increasingly longer periods of full-time secondary education during the last three decades and 100% of both gender groups have for some time now been receiving education up to the statutory leaving age of 16 (Table 1). Girls indeed now tend to stay longer at school beyond this age limit (Social Trends, 1986, 1991), and to surpass boys in examination success at the end of secondary school. While this trend was evident in Scotland from 1971-2 onwards, girls in England were rather slower to do better than boys in the higher levels of external examinations, slightly surpassing boys in gaining two or more A-level passes only in 1983-4. By 1987-8, the percentages of pupils leaving secondary school without an external certificate qualification were

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relative ignorance of each other. Some people who would be interested in EOC work fail to realise its existence or the scope of its activities.

We may notice also that media comment on the EOC is not always favourable or sympathetic, especially if the EOC is supporting a case which runs counter to traditional beliefs in what is "right" for men and women. Study of such comment could indeed be one way of discovering the extent to which the policy of non-discrimination is really accepted nation-wide. The EOC itself claims to have achieved considerable success in ensuring equal rights for women and in changing employers' attitudes and behaviours: it hopes during the 1990s to concentrate more on women's access to different forms of vocational training and wider choices of work: on improving child-care and related provisions: and on reducing the pay differential of men and women (EOC, 1988).

Yet it has been pointed out that "in recent years, the Equal Opportunities Commission's budget has been cut in real terms" (The Hansard Society, 1990). This bodes ill for the future implementation of such national policy as has been realised in the Commission's activities.

Table 2: Percentages of pupils leaving secondary school without an external certificate qualification

	Boys	Girls
England	11,1	7,9
Wales	20,5	14,1
Scotland	16,9	12,9
Northern Ireland	26,6	15,9

Source: Social Trends, 1991, 3.13

There are still differences in what happens after full-time secondary schooling though changes have been evident here in recent times. Formerly, the tendency had been for more males to go into specific vocational training, full-time, while females went rather to part-time, evening courses of further education. In 1970-71, there were more men than women in both full-time and part-time further education in the UK. By 1988-89, there were more women than men in both full-time and part-time further education courses (Social Trends, 1991, 3.18).

So far as higher education is concerned, the percentage of women entering, and graduating, has improved in recent decades: in 1965 women were 27.7% of undergraduates in the UK: by 1975 they were 36.2%: in 1991, they were 45,7% (Univ. Stat. Record). We may note however that there are differences

in percentages for different parts of the UK which have persisted over some years, as the following figures show:

Table 3: Percentages of women among university students

	England	Wales	Scotland	N.Ireland
1966 - 67	27,5	33,6	33,4	26,4
1977 - 78	35,1	38,7	39,3	41,8
1987 - 88	42,1	46,2	43,4	48,5

Since it would be difficult to find differences in local or other policies to explain these divergences in constituent parts of the UK, one might argue that they suggest other influences at work -possibly different "national" attitudes towards education and, in the case of Northern Ireland, peculiar local difficulties which may encourage more women to stay in Northern Ireland for higher education. In any case, the UK situation for women in higher education is not yet at the 50:50 level (though Northern Ireland is now there) which has been already attained in various European and other countries.

At the level of postgraduate studies, women have also remained a minority: in 1991, at masters' degree level, women were 38.7% of students, at doctoral level, they were 31,5% (Univ. Stat. Record).

It should further be noted that in recent times the percentage of women among mature students (aged over 21 on entry to first degree studies) has improved: thus in 1981, women were 37% of mature students obtaining a first degree, in 1987 they were 44,8. At postgraduate level they were 35% in 1981 and 37% in 1987 (Social Trends, 1991, 3.25).

Table 4: Subject choices in A-level courses in secondary schools in England, 1987

	Boys	Girls
Total numbers (in thousand)	112,5	111,9
Maths/Science only (%)	36,1	16,0
Maths/Science/other subjects	34,8	30,4
Other subjects only	29,1	53,5
Courses including A-level Math	52,9	27,1

Source: DES Statistical Bulletin 6/88, May, 1988, Table 8

Table 5: Subjects included by Scottish secondary school pupils for Higher Grade examinations, 1987-88 (percentages, based on number of school leavers with Highers)

	Boys	Girls
Maths + Science	43,22	26,40
Maths, no Science	7,96	9,25
Science, no Maths	12,94	16,27
No math or Science	35,88	48,08
English + Modern Language	8,96	21,67

Source: SOED, Howie Committee Report, 1992, App.5

In addition to the general question of access to further and higher education, there is the important question of the kind of studies chosen. Various organisations have attempted to increase the entry of girls into scientific studies. Some effects may be traced in tables 4 and 5, so far as entry to end-of-school examinations is concerned: yet sex-differentiated choices of subjects continue both here and in higher education (Table 6). It is evident, from reports from schools, that there are still pressures which discourage girls from entering some scientific and technical subjects. The attitudes of teachers -as well as the attitudes of parents- very often tend to encourage both boys and girls to make choices in accordance with traditional

stereotypes. The TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative) scheme in British education, for example, was intended to lead to greater integration of vocational and general education in the secondary schools: but it has proved unable to produce the same opportunities for girls and boys: many courses remain clearly sex-differentiated.

In the teaching profession itself, women continue to be at a disadvantage when appointment to promoted posts is considered. The EOC Report on Women and Men in Britain (1988) noted that in primary and nursery schools, 32,1% of men were head teachers, and 7,5% of women, while at the lowest salary levels (Scale 2 and Scale 1), there were 41,0% and 35,5% of women compared with 26,2% and 8,9% of men. Similarly at secondary school level, 0,8% of women were head teachers and 3,3% of men: 3,4% of women were at deputy head, second mistresses/masters or senior teacher level, and 6,4 % of men: at Scale 1 were 37,2% of women and 17,4% of men (EOC, 1988). Role models for girls are thus too few, where positions of authority in school education are concerned: women models also are fewer in some subject areas, for as a teachers' union has pointed out, male teachers are more likely to receive incentive pay because they are the great majority in "shortage areas" like maths, science, technology (TES, Nov. 1989).

Margaret B. Sutherland

Table 6: Percentage of Women undergraduate students in some subject areas in British universities in 1977 and 1987

	1977	1987
Medicine	36.0	47.3
Dentistry	33.5	47.1
Pharmacy	53.9	64.2
Veterinary Sc.	35.5	51.7
Biology	45.9	53.6
Maths	29.6	30.8
Physics	11.6	16.1
Chemistry	20.2	32.5
Engineering / Tech	5.3	10.7
Business St.	24.8	44.4
Economics	19.0	29.5
Accountancy	24.3	35.3
Law	37.4	48.4
English	61.8	66.8
French	78.7	78.1

Source: This table is derived from UGC (University Grants Committe), Statistics of Education 1977, vol. 6, published HMSO, 1980, and UGC University Statistics 1987-8, Universities Statistical Record, 1988[46].

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46 A selection of subjects has been made: in others numbers are small or male and female percentages are nearly equal and/or show little change. Style of classifying subjects changed over the decade: in the 1987 figures for pre-clinical and clinical medicine and dentistry are shown separately by the UGC but have been added together here for the purposes of comparison. It should also be noted that figures for 1977 refer to entrants as full-time undergraduates in that year, while those for 1987 refer to all full-time undergraduates. Universities Statistical Record figures for 1991-2 show little change from 1987, though Engineering / Technology has risen slightly to 14,2, Maths is down to 25,3 and Biological Sciences have risen to 57,7.

In university teaching, women remained in a minority of 18,5 % in 1991: at professorial level, women were 4,7%, 25% at the career grade of lecturer, 40,7% in the lowest "other" category of people mainly on temporary appointment (Univ. Stat, Record, 1992). In polytechnics (categorised from 1992 as universities) women had been slightly more numerous, forming 20,7% of staff in 1989, though again they were under-represented at professorial/head of department level, being there only 6,7% (Halsey, 1992). Consequently, the absence of role models for women in the higher reaches of education has continued.

In the administration of education, women are still notably in a minority at the top levels. By 1992 no women had become established vice-chancellors of universities in the United Kingdom and, until then, only two women had been appointed directors of polytechnics. The redesignation of polytechnics as universities in 1992 thus meant a few women were in top university posts: but in a total of 52 "old" universities and 37 "new" universities, women's minority situation in the administration of higher education remained clearly unsatisfactory. Women were 17% of those appointed by the former Department of Education and Science to public bodies, including many concerned with education. In the civil service

again, women have been in a very small minority at the top levels (EOC, 1988): they have continued to be a minority in the educational inspectorates. Thus at the levels where policy decisions about education are made and implemented, women do not have an equal say.

If one looks at the outcome of medical studies for women, one finds similarly that although women have become more numerous among general medical practitioners -they were 14,3% in 1975 and 20,9% in 1985 (it is especially to be noted that in 1985 women were 39.1% of general medical practitioners under the age of 30)- women are rare at the top levels of the medical profession in hospitals (EOC, 1988).

Similarly (EOC, 1988) legal studies for women have resulted in only low representation at the highest levels of the judiciary -in 1989 there were no women Law Lords, one woman Lord Justice (total in category, 27), one woman High Court Judge (total in this category, 81): but women were more numerous among the lower categories of recorders (38%) and Assistant Recorders (25%). Among solicitors, while records showed women as a remarkably high percentage of those qualifying, one-third of women were no longer engaged in this work, as compared to 12% of men (Hansard Society, 1990). (There can of

course be a variety of reasons for these differences in subsequent careers).

In general then, girls and women in the UK seem to have few problems of access to education: both women's access to higher education and girls' secondary school performances have improved during the last three decades. But there remains much sex-differentiation in choices of studies, though there are some trends towards reduction of these differences: and the outcome in the labour market is also sex-diferentiated -on average, women's education does not lead to the same levels of pay and authority as does men's, even in "women's professions".

13.6. EVALUATION OF THE BRITISH SITUATION AND POLICIES

Trying to decide what has caused improvement and what is still disadvantaging girls and women in education is by no means easy. Despite the absence of a common national policy, some kind of consensus seems to have been forming, resulting in similar actions in different parts of the educational world. Local authorities, schools, teachers' organisations which have clearly stated a policy may well have provided effectives examples for others and these others may gradually state and develop similar policies. It could indeed be argued in favour of the existing situation, that if attitudes at grass-roots level are to be changed, this gradual, piece-meal approach has advantages over a centralised policy: people may be more influenced by what is said and done in their immediate locality, or by their peers, than by an impersonal ruling from a distant source.

On the other hand, there are at present obvious inequalities: much may depend on the neighbourhood or school attended by young people -in some places and in some schools, stereotypes may continue to be transmitted, in others, freedom to exercise true individual choices in education and vocational preparation may be being cultivated. How long will it be before

osmosis is complete and all individual employers or institutions spontaneously issue a statement of an equal opportunities policy? Has the time now come to supplement this slow and uneven process by a central statement of policy? Various statements by responsible commissions or organisations would indicate that this is so.

Much depends on whether we can ascribe changes that have occurred to the existence of explicit policies or to more subtle causes. Central decisions to remove barriers certainly can be helpful: official decisions to change such things as the age at which compulsory attendance at school ends are clearly effective. But the sources of other changes are less easy to trace. For instance, in higher education there have been movements of women students to study medicine (probably aided by a general decision in university faculties of medicine to remove quotas limiting women's entrance); and movement towards legal studies; to business and administration studies, to accountancy and finance (AGCAS, 1988). There is no evidence of a guiding policy in the latter cases: possibly, rather, changes have resulted from young women's perceptions of the labour market -and disillusionment with the attractions of school teaching. Engineering studies now attract more women: but is this due to the efforts of university faculties (and Institutes of

Engineers) which have a policy of encouraging women to enter these studies? Percentages of women studying and working in engineering remain relatively small: is the reason simply natural slowness of change or is it to be found in women's perception of unhelpful employers' attitudes -or in traditional attidudes still prevailing among families and friends? Or is the teaching of these subjects unattractive to women? Comparisons with the situation of women engineering students in other systems, where other policies prevail, might help to elucidate this situation.

Again, schools which do have a policy of encouraging girls to study maths and science do not always find as many girls responding as they would expect or wish. Again, comparisons with other educational systems may indicate whether sex-differentiated choices depend on policy statements or on employment and on implicit attitudes in society.

Similarly, it is sometimes claimed that when attempts are made to implement equal opportunity policies in employment and promotion, there are problems in finding enough women applicants. Here the complex factors -including women's expectations and attitudes- which have created the existing situation have to be coped with: impatient administrators and

employers tend rather readily to find fault with the policy instead.

It does seem evident that the existence of a policy is not enough to ensure its effective implementation. It also seems evident that change in the education of girls and women may come through factors other than those of declared policies. Hence the absence of a national policy in the United Kingdom may thus far not have been entirely undesirable. Yet without the influence of quasi-national policies of major organisations like the EOC or teachers' unions -and local education authorities- little progress might have been made. Their policy declarations have created an essential awareness of inequalities and disadvantages in the education of girls and women: they have also produced change in some parts of the country and at some levels of education. While a national requirement that all employers and institutions must state an equal opportunities policy would not be an instant remedy for existing defects -and consideration would still need to be given to the most effective means of implementation- such a requirement would certainly produce still greater awareness and speed the process of improvement. A further typical instance of the piece-meal approach was offered in 1991 by the Opportunity 2000 campaign by which 61 business companies

committed themselves to improving women's opportunities at work: a year later, it was found that results were very uneven and depended mainly on the individual company's already existing policies for women workers rather than on a common impetus. This would add to other reasons supporting the view that it is probably time now to bring together the scattered and individual efforts of many groups in the United Kingdom into one coherent and agreed national policy.

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DEUXIÈME PARTIE

NATIONAL POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN: INTERNATIONAL VARIATIONS

VARIANTS OF NATIONAL POLICIES: SPECIFIC AND GENERAL FACTORS

THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE

While looking at the information provided by our case studies we must of course remember that fully to understand the situation in any one country would require an intensive study of its history and the cultural, political and economic factors which have created the present state of affairs. Moreover, while a useful range of countries has been studied, another choice of countries might have produced a picture differing in some respects from the one now before us. It would be tempting to take the individual countries studied as representatives of groups of countries-Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North and South America, Eastern countries, Third World countries; or, more simply, developed and developing countries. But while they do have some traits commonly found in such groupings, each of the countries has its own distinct character: e.g., while possibly classifiable as Third World, low income, or developing countries, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso and Uruguay have been shown to differ widely from each other: within

Europe, there are clear differences between France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom. So we have before us a series of illustrative examples, not a statistically significant sample of data. It is also important to recognise that while providing these case studies and offering objective data, the researchers have deliberately -on the basis of their analysis- made individual evaluations of the situation they have found and of the policies- or absence of policies-leading to it. These individual evaluations are subjective and might, of course, meet with some disagreement within the country in question.

The countries described do show an interesting variety of policies and rates of progress. They all show improvement in the educational situation of girls and women. But while they also have in common a starting point at which the situation of girls' and women's education was perceived as less than satisfactory, these starting points differ considerably: they range from established equality of access to all three levels of education, as in North America, Europe, and Uruguay, to remaining inequalities in access to primary and secondary education, or to literacy, in Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso. We may notice too that while the majority of countries show that the secondary academic school achievement of girls tends to be rather better than that of boys, in Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso,

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the secondary school achievement of girls is less than that of boys -and in Sri Lanka, in rural areas, their drop-out rate is higher than boys'. (Similar trends have been noted in reports of work in other African countries and in other Western countries). We have thus to recognise that the task of achieving equality in education presents different orders of magnitude in different parts of the world. Such differences may produce needs for different educational policies. Before trying to evaluate the policies exemplified, it is useful first to consider some of the general factors affecting educational policies in the countries studied. They show common characteristics affecting women's situation in different parts of the world -even if some major differences are also evident.

FACTORS UNDERLYING COUNTRIES' POLICIES FOR FEMALE EDUCATION

In all the countries it has been traditional to undervalue women's work in society and to neglect women's rights in the conduct of public affairs, in educational administration, and even in the family circle. Resemblances here may be partly due to the transfer of traditional European attitudes to colonial countries:but in some cases, as in Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso, these attitudes were reinforced by indigenous traditions,

or were equally to be found in these traditions. Yet in Sri Lanka, it has been pointed out, the colonists misinterpreted, and so undervalued or overlooked,women's traditional role as productive workers in the economy. (A similar criticism of aid agencies' misinterpretations of the indigenous culture has been voiced in other countries also and is being attended to by these agencies).

There is, however, a historical decalage in the move to change educational policies and recognise women's rights in general. In some countries, gaining independence from colonial powers led to proclamation of new democratic principles to govern society (and to include, possibly only implicitly, equality for women) - and such political changes took place at a variety of dates -for Sri Lanka, independence in 1931; for Burkina Faso in 1960; for Zimbabwe in 1980. For others, as, e.g., Japan and Hungary, conditions following World War Two led to a restructuring of policies and to some changes in attitudes. For other countries again - e.g. Canada, the United States, France, Italy -there has been a gradual evolution in policies affecting women during the latter half of the century rather than a radical new departure.

So far as can be judged, the common foundation of traditional attitudes towards women's roles remains

important, for these attitudes die hard. (It is has even been suggested that in Uruguay, while women's right to vote was conceded in 1938 and other subsequent legislation has protected their conditions of work and vocational training, and while they have now made great advances in access to education, traditional attitudes have simply not changed at all.)

Another common and important aspect of traditional attitudes is that they have frequently been supported by, or founded on, religious teaching. For Italy, for example, the strong influence of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century, and its emphasis on motherhood and women's family responsibilities have been recalled.In various parts of the Western world today there are indeed other traces of traditional religious attitudes towards women in the considerable controversies as to whether women may or may not be accepted as ministers of the Christian religion. In the present study, Islamic influences have also been noted in Burkina Faso where parents may show preferences for Koranic schools rather than for public education for their children. In Sri Lanka, where parents are reported as generally favourable to girls' education, there are still some traces of Muslim resistance to such education. Other influences exerted by religion have been pointed out for Burkina Faso:schools there may be on sacred

ground where girls should not go: and initiation ceremonies may especially interrupt the school education of girls.

Evidence has also pointed to urban and rural differences in traditional attitudes to women, the 'modernisation' of urban life being more likely to recognise women as independent members of the work force, while rural life in which women can combine domestic and farm tasks in undifferentiated use of their time, is more favourable to the persistence of stereotyped views of women's place. In Hungary for instance, it was noted that while industrialisation made men move to the towns for work, women tended to remain in their rural settings. Rural conditions in Zimbabwe, it has been pointed out, may make it more difficult for girls to get education -because of difficulties of access or because of parents' wish to keep their daughters under close supervision. Burkina Faso offers the example of a population in which the vast majority of the people are still in rural work, and progress of girls in secondary education, while perceptible, is still far from equalling that of boys.

SCHOOLS AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES TO WOMEN

Proof of the continuing existence of traditional attitudes has come not only from general observations but from various country reports on stereotypes persisting in school textbooks -in

Italy, in Japan, in the United States and the United Kingdom for example. Despite Unesco's (1983-85) useful series on stereotyping in textbooks in different continents of the world, it is clear that much teaching material still contains traditional stereotyping. Improvement here is particularly hard to make, especially in education systems where local authorities or individual schools are at liberty to choose which books to use - or in systems where the cost of new teaching materials is a major deterrent to change.

Different contributors have pointed out that so far as attitudes based on gender are concerned, it would seem particularly important to ensure that school teachers, and teachers in higher education, are aware of such stereotyping and of the need to develop in the younger generation readiness to judge on individual merit rather than accept unthinking prejudices. Yet, as contributors from Canada and the States have found, while some authorities do provide for teacher education concerning gender stereotyping, there is no general provision to ensure that future teachers consider this problem during the course of their initial training. In the United Kingdom, the diversity of teacher education courses means that it is largely a matter of chance whether future teachers consider this matter: some may study it seriously while others do not have their

attention drawn on it,or do not take the one of many options in a PGCE course which would deal with this problem. (Here, admittedly, much may depend on the local authority in whose schools the beginning teacher is employed: if that authority has an explicit and effective policy towards equal opportunities then teacher awareness is likely to be developed and the choice of teaching materials will have been carefully scrutinised to avoid stereotyping - on gender or race).

A perhaps more subtle effect of traditional attitudes may be found in the gender-differentiated subject choices which have been noted by practically every contributor. It can of course be questioned whether females opting for the subjects of study traditionally thought appropriate for them are blindly following tradition or are making a reasonable calculation about their future chances of employment. For evidence has also been produced to indicate that, e.g. in France, it is not easy for females to be accepted into what are regarded as males' occupations. It is of course also possible that there are some differences in outlook in the gender groups which make some studies more attractive than others: but it seems improbable that these would lead to the extreme segregation which has been indicated in the studies followed by young men and women in so many countries.

At the same time, the case studies give some evidence of a change in the traditional subject choices. From more than one country comes information about greater numbers of young women studying law and medicine. Even so, their persistence in the welfare services and in the humanities seems to remain clearly defined.

THE EMPLOYMENT FACTOR

As we have noted, the choice of vocational training by females in the different countries is strongly affected by the traditional views of what are women's occupations and what are men's. While a French politician could exclaim that "Le métier n'a pas de sexe", it is very clear that in the countries analysed, occupations do fall into two categories and that the courses of studies taken in preparation for employment reflect the traditional divide. It is also to be recalled that for women in some countries employment is more a matter of securing subsistence for their family than being in a wage-earning post.

Employment policies in different countries have been shown as chiefly concerned with securing the right kind of work force. Thus projects for women's vocational training have tended to develop in women the traditional kinds of skills. In other cases, national policy - as in Burkina Faso - has attempted to

improve women's conditions of work in their normal occupations. Similarly, training for women in Uruguay has focused on their customary skills, though making some provision for entry into non-traditional work. In Hungary, the transition to industrialisation focused first on securing a male work force with relevant skills - and the school system reinforced this occupational segregation. In the UK, it is the realisation that there may be a scarcity of young people entering the labour market in the immediate future which has encouraged policies for better provision of child-care facilities and maternity breaks.

Paradoxically enough, the prospects of unemployment in some cases have encouraged young men and young women, particularly the latter perhaps, to remain in secondary education - a present disadvantage for young women may thus work to their future advantage. Much here depends on whether "white-collar" jobs are available for the young people with longer, academic secondary education or whether continuing in the education system is simply a postponement of disappointment. As the Hungarian experience has shown, the holding of academic educational qualifications may become less valued than other forms of training.

SOCIAL CLASS FACTORS

Social class structures vary from country to country:but more than one contributor indicates that a superior social class background -which may well be associated with place of residence, and availabi- lity of good schools - is likely to improve girls' chances of education, whatever the formal educational structures.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Women's contributions to political change may have been considerable: but, especially given the patriarchal system common to so many countries, these efforts are not generally recognised by the appointment of women to high political office in emergent new democracies. So even under new and revolutionary governments, policies helpful to women are less likely to be promulgated. In longer-established systems, women remain unlikely to occupy an equal proportion of major political posts, though progress in this matter is uneven in different Western societies. The relative absence of women at these decision-making levels is likely to reduce immediate attention to improving educational provision for girls and women, and their employment chances:though there is admittedly a tendency in many Western countries to regard

women as particularly suited for appointment as Ministers of Education or Ministers concerned with welfare measures (EOC, 1988).

FACTORS DIFFERENTIATING COUNTRIES' EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

In the individual case histories it has also been evident that the priority which might be given to female education is overshadowed by needs arising from the particular political and economic situation of a country. In their different but distinctive historical developments, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, and Sri Lanka show the major importance for some countries of making the transition from colonial domination to national independence.In these circumstances, the major aims for education are likely to be seen as the abolition of undesirable conditions found under the earlier regime - e.g. racialist policies in education - and reform in accordance with national aspirations. The particular situation of women may well be overlooked in such circumstances or attempts to deal with female aspirations may be postponed until the situation in general has been stabilised.

Eradicating illiteracy may also play a large part in some former colonies and while this is obviously a policy important

to women - and adult literacy campaigns often focus on them - this concern for literacy may distract attention and produce neglect of the educational needs of girls for secondary education, and young women's needs for higher education.

The problem of different languages in use in a country - with consequent implications for educational policy - is one which has been referred to only in passing in individual chapters: but it remains a problem likely to receive high priority.

But it must be remembered that the dominating factor in some countries is the need to provide adequately for the health and food-supply of the population. This situation has been well summarised in the account of the Burkina Faso experience: "pour les populations rurales, l'école vient souvent après l'eau, la santé et l'autosuffisance alimentaire".

Given such problems of the economy in the lower income countries of the world, it is not difficult to understand why the kind of education expected in more comfortably situated countries, including education to ensure equal opportunities for women, may have a relatively low place in national priorities.

An associated consideration here is the question of who pays for children's education. Again, while many countries take it for granted that education at least at primary level is free, and

secondary education is probably free also, in some countries even primary school attendance has to be paid for, as have books or other materials. Where tuition fees are not to be paid, the costs of maintenance or travel and lodging still impose a burden on parents. They may decide they are therefore unable to provide much in the way of school education for their children, especially if the economic returns from education do not seem promising. Some case studies have noted the traditional practice of supporting sons' education rather than daughters'. Yet there are also low income countries, e.g. Sri Lanka, in which education for all children is valued by most parents.

European countries also show divergences in parents' commitment to paying for different levels of education for boys and girls, though in countries of the former Soviet bloc, state funding of education tended to remove this aspect of the problem, while introducing other criteria of access to education.

DECISION-MAKING ABOUT POLICIES

In most of the countries studied, there exists a written constitution, sometimes of very recent date: such constitutions normally provide for equal rights for both gender groups. But more than one case study makes it clear that having a written

constitution is not in itself enough to provide a coherent policy for female education. As was interestingly noted in the case of Italy, it is not always necessary to implement all the constitution immediately:and women's education can be put on the back burner in such instances.

At this point it will be helpful to review the various forms taken by legislation and policies at different levels in the countries studied, those improving women's situation in general and especially those centred on girls's and women's education. In some countries there must be reliance simply on general legislation for there may be no separate policies for education; or policies concerning education may make no distinction on the basis of gender. In some countries policy-formulation may be restricted to the central government with lower administrative units being concerned simply with implementing that central policy. In other cases, policies may be formulated and implemented by individual states within a federation or by individual regional or local authorities with a national state.

(A) COUNTRIES WHITH FEDERAL AND STATE LEGISATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EDUCATION

The two North American countries show legislation by two major authorities, federal and state governments.

USA

At federal level, the important pieces of legislation have been:

(i) Title IX of the Education Amendements Act, 1972, refusing federal funding to any educational programmes and activities in which sex discrimination occured

(ii) The Women's Education Equity Act of 1975, providing discretionary grants for projects designed to improve female education at all levels, by various means

(iii) The Vocational Education Act of 1976, by which those receiving federal funding for vocational education programmes were inquired to take positive action to remove sex bias, sex stereotyping, sex discrimination.

At State level, 13 states produced legislation parallel to that of Title IX: and 31 states have some form of legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in primary and secondary education.

Canada

Federally, the constitution of the 1982 (transfer of powers from Westminster to Canada) included women's rights to

equality. The Constitution since 1985 includes an article stating that programmes for access to equality are not discriminatory. Universities wishing to receive government-funded contracts must have an equal access programme.

Educational legislation is the responsibility of each province. From 1977, all provinces have had legislation forbidding discrimination.

All except British Columbia have since 1987 legislation authorising programmes for access to equality. Since 1989, Ontario imposes programmes for access to equality in education.

Provinces have a variety of policies with regard to women's rights and education. Two have a global policy in this matter: most have provision for equality in employment. Four provinces have a Council on the Status of Women: most have at least an office for Women's Affairs attached to the Ministry of Education. Three provinces have a sex harassment policy: three have a policy on including the study of sexism in teacher education: half the provinces have a policy on the elimination of sexim in languge. Five have a policy on women's access to education.

(B) COUNTRIES WITH NATIONAL POLICIES, MAKING EXPLICIT PROVISIONS FOR EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

It is to be noted that in such countries local or regional authorities also may in some cases take initiatives or state policies to help women's education.

Japan

The 1946 Constitution stated basic principles of equality for both sexes, in education, in the family in employment, and other basic human rights. When referring to the right of all to an education corresponding to their ability, it stated that ordinary compulsory education, for both boys and girls, was to be free.

These principles were incorporated in subsequent legislation relating to education:- The Fundamental Law of Education , 1947, the Enforcement Regulations for the School Education Law, the Social Educational Law of 1949. Other legislation concerning the welfare of women included provisions for child welfare, child-care leave, and the Nationality Law of 1984 which recognised the rights of Japanese women in determining the citizenship of their children.

Conclusions

The Equal Opportunity Law of 1986 made provision for equal treatment of men and women at work, and for assistance to working women.

Japan has also endorsed the United Nations Convention for the abolition of discrimination.

The implementation of the laws is also the responsibility of local authorities and of employers.

There is a Women's Education Division in the Ministry of Education, intended to monitor and support the implementation of provisions relating to women's rights in education, social life and employment.

The Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Labour also supports work to remove stereotypes and discrimination against women in work. The Ministry has promoted the appointment of named persons within enterprises to be responsible for promoting equal opportunity (from 1988 onwards).

The National Women's Education Centre, founded in 1977, develops the training of women leaders in education, provides study places and fosters exchanges of people interested in the field, nationally and internationally, and carries out research.

France

France also has ratified the UN Convention against Discrimination and implemented it by a decree against discrimination in education.

Equal access to secondary education was legally established in 1930.

France has had since 1970 a number of forms of parliamentary responsibilities for trying to ensure equality and the avoidance of sex discrimination: the Centre for Information for Women, established 1970, was followed by: -1971 the Committee on Women at Work: 1972 the Women's Information Centre: 1974 State Secretariat on Women's Status: 1976 a Delegation on Women's Status: 1978: a State Secretariat associated with the Ministry of Labour, a ministerial delegate to the Prime Minister, responsible for Women's Issues, and an interministerial committee for action for women: in 1981 a Ministry for women's rights, responsible to the Prime Minister: in 1982 an interministerial committee responsible for women's rights and the international centre for information on women's rights: 1983 the Higher Council for Equality at Work: 1984, the mission for equality at work; 1985, the Ministry for Women's Rights.

Italy

Legislation during the Fascist period restricted female participation in various forms of education and work.

The post-war Constitution embodies statements affirming equality, irrespective of sex, race, religion: recognises equal rights for men and women within the family: provides for equal pay and for universal suffrage:opens all careers to women. But the implementation of these principles has taken place at different speeds. In 1963, legislation enabled women to enter public offices and all professions and a series of laws during the 1970 eventually implemented the constitutional principles concerning women's rights within the family, and the right to divorce: equal pay was legislated for in 1977.

Spain

The new Constitution of 1978 included articles asserting non-discrimination on the ground of sex, though these have not been fully implemented in practice.

The Institute for Women, attached to the Ministry of Culture,was created in 1983. It has initiated a number of projects designed to provide equal opportunities for women and men. Its three-year Action Plan (1988-1990) aimed at securing

equal opportunity in all aspects of education, work, family health and culture.

The 1970 Education Act had already emphasised equal opportunity for all in access to education.

(A recent (1988) White Paper on Reform of the Educational System has recognised that in the educational system discriminations still exist: but education is fairer than other sectors of society).

Uruguay

The first written Constitution in 1930 did not recognise women as citizens: but women obtained the vote in 1938 and the 1946 Law recognised women's civil rights. Other legal protection has been given to protect working women and mothers.

In 1981 Uruguay ratified the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

In 1987 was established the Women's Institute, attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, with representatives from other Ministries and other public bodies. It monitors women's situation and works to ensure women's participation in all aspects of society. It has opened Information Centres in

different places to keep women informed as to their rights and available resources.

Equality in primary education was ensured by the Primary Education Reform of 1877. Female access to secondary and higher education developed more slowly, because of attitudes rather than legislation. Women now outnumber men at these levels.

(C) COUNTRIES IN WHICH NATIONAL POLICIES HAVE BEEN GENERAL RATHER THAN SPECIFIC

Burkina Faso

The 1983 political manifesto of the new government asserted that women should be associated with decision-making and implementation of policy at all levels in society.

The Union of Burkina Women was founded in 1985.

The 1986-90 five-year national plan aimed at giving technical aid to the home-production of food (women largely involved here); at providing domestic equipment to lighten women's task load: at increasing girls'education and women's functional literacy; at heightening awareness of family planning and sex education. In practice, little discrimination

in favour of women has been evident: and a great deal remains to be done.

The next five-year plan (1991-95) aims at developing women's socio-economic role as major producers of food. It is recognised that corollaries here are improvement in health conditions, the struggle against illiteracy, provision of land and financial resources. An interministerial team, including members of the Union of Burkina Women, has given special attention to this aspect of the plan.

But the government has also campaigned against the practice of female circumcision).

Hungary

In the situation prevailing before the radical political changes of the end of the 90s, there was an absence of gender-specific legislation. The Constitution recognised equal rights, irrespective of sex.

The 1961 Education Act aimed at enabling all to complete full secondary education: girls have been particlarly successful here. A women's movement was beginning to develop.

Sri Lanka

The 1978 Constitution, Article 27 (2) affirms the policy of eradicating illiteracy and ensuring for everyone equal access to all levels of education.

Gender parity in school education was more or less achieved by 1960.

Developments in education have resulted mainly from social demand rather than from legislation. Females have achieved a high participation rate, including participation in higher education. But gender stereotypes in education have not received official attention.

Zimbabwe

1956 Commission of Enquiry into Inequalities or Discrimination as between Men and Women left traditional practices and attitudes largely unaltered.

The Constitution of 1970 made no gender-specific provisions. It left in effect customary African law which restricted women's rights: subsequent legislation was needed to redress this situation, e.g. the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982, recognising the attainment of majority status at age 18 by both women and men.

The 1981 manifesto of ZANU (PF) included recognition of women's rights to equality in work, pay, family and marriage.

In education, the major priority has been seen as the elimination of racial discrimination.

The Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs, set up in 1981, concentrated mainly on women's work as producers in the economy. This latter aspect rather overshadowed possible developments in female education.

But a new governmental policy of 1989, Economic Structural Adjustment (ESAP) reduced public spending and consequently increased school and examination fees as well as reducing some forms of technical education. Prospects of female progress in education were thus indirectly made less good.

D) A COUNTRY WITH NO FORMAL NATIONAL POLICY FOR WOMEN

The United Kingdom

In this case there is no written constitution and no national policy specifically directed to the education of girls and women. But relevant key legislation, applying nationally, was the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, incorporating amendments to the 1970

Equal Pay Act.The 1975 Act established the Equal Opportunities Commission to monitor instances of discriminatory practices, to help individuals claiming to have suffered discrimination, to promote research and education concerning sex discrimination and to produce relevant publications.

The National Commission on Women acts in a consultative and advisory capacity.

Local authorities in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland may have their own individual policies in education (subject to central legislation) and many have made various provisions to reduce sex discrimination in schools and colleges under their control. Various institutions of further and higher education have stated thast they are Equal Opportunity employers but their programmes to implement such policies vary greatly in scope and intensity.

The government currently in power has a junior Minister who chairs a ministerial group on women's issues, reporting to the Home Secretary- eventually, to the Prime Minister.The Labour Party has indicated interest in setting up a Ministry for Women, if it comes to power in the next elections.

EVALUATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Looking at the data from this range of countries, the question remains: is there one kind of national policy for the education of girls and women that is clearly ideal? It would in fact be difficult to affirm that any one of the policies studied has been fully successful. Nor does it seem to matter greatly whether there is an explicit national policy for girls' and women's education, and/or written constitutional provision. What counts is the intention to provide good education and the way in which such intention is realised. Some countries have managed to achieve parity of numbers in primary, secondary and first level higher education - and in North America considerable progress has been made towards equality in upper levels of higher education. But even there, as in other countries where women's education has made great progress, evidence of considerable sex bias in subject choice remains - as does evidence of gender-specific occupations, inequalities in pay and promotion in employment. In teaching at higher education levels, discrepancies which leave women in lower positions appear in all the system reviewed. In some countries, despite

apparently determined policies for reform, parity has been achieved only in primary and secondary education: in others -where reform had to cope with a highly unequal provision- even this parity is still being striven for. It is evident that the success of policies depends not simply on the authority which proclaims them but also on the conditions (the existing state of education and of the country's economy) in which the policies have to operate.

Expecting to find one ideal kind of policy also seems unreasonable as we note that among the countries which have made the greatest progress in giving equal access to education, there is great variation in the ways in which policies are implemented. There is also variation in the kind of organisations responsible for the implementation of policies.

Possibly, then, the answer lies in choosing a combination of policies and methods to realise them. What policies seem worthy of recommendation? -Legislation; political appointments; development of institutes devoted to women's issues; women's movements; other formal and informal organisations? All have been observed in the countries studied.

(i) The most obvious mechanism is clearly legislation. Yet while there seem to be incontrovertible merit in legislation

against discrimination, and against conditions which would prevent equal access to both education and employment, it has become clear that legislation in itself is not enough. Moreover, legislation can be of differing types, aptly characterised in the chapter on the U.S.A as carrot or stick legislation: some legislation offers monetary or other inducements to implement policies improving female education - but not all authorities may choose to apply for the resources offered in return for approved action:they may prefer to continue in their accustomed way and forego these rewards. 'Stick' legislation may be effective in righting some deplorable policies: but as yet the penalties imposed in different countries when illegal discrimination is proved do not always seem great enough to be deterrent - and the process of proving that a penalty should be imposed may be costly and long-drawn-out.

Yet in countries where a political proclamation is not followed-up by provision of the necessary financial resources, promised reforms die on the vine. Much depends of course on the general economic situation of individual countries. While some may obtain aid from international agencies for specific educational reforms, in others, spending on education often has very low priority in times of recession or general poverty. Restrictions on public spending indicated by such

international agencies as the IMF or the World Bank may also, as in the case of some African countries recently, lead to lower spending on education: educational facilities are then less accessible for the population in general and for girls and women in particular.

Moreover, as has been instanced in our case histories, legislation is not necessarily immediately enforced. The rhetoric of new governments or of governments facing elections may conceal the absence of a genuine intention to reform. Acts can remain ineffectually on the statute book: implementation may be adjourned: responsibility for implementation may be transferred to authorities lacking the funding and the will to carry out this work. To be effective, legislation must be supported by public opinion: its implementation is then likely to appear to be in the interest of the government in power and funds will be made available.

Nevertheless any legislation is important as an indication of public concern, however temporary or superficial it may prove to have been: it may at least serve as a sign-post for future decisions.

Two other points should be noted in considering the contribution made by legislation. (a) We have not found

provision by legislation for positive discrimination in favour of women - though possibly such action may be taken by local authorities in some of the countries studied. Thus the apprehensions of some males that they could be disadvantaged by legislation for greater equality seem to be unjustified. (b) It has been noted in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom that the legislation for equal opportunities has been considerably used by men as well as by the women whom it was more probably expected to serve.

(ii) Should legislation be backed up by specific political appointments?

It remains uncertain what kind of political office or political appointment to look after women's interests is most likely to be effective - and whether such appointments are normally successful. France has shown a remarkable range of such provisions, presumably indicating fluctuations in government policies: but their efficacity cannot yet be judged and the number of changes is in itself disconcerting. Opinion in the UK is divided as to whether the introduction of a Ministry for Women would be a desirable development. Other countries have created a variety of ministerial connections, or Institutes for Women, attached to a variety of ministries - culture, employment, education. Concentration of responsibility for

women's advancement by the appointment of a specific Minister would seem theoretically to have advantages: but it could also, it has been argued, mean that women's issues would then be considered outside the mainstream of social developments, indeed ghettoised. Contact with other ministries would certainly have to be well developed and effective if such encapsulation were to be avoided. On the other hand, having a number of parliamentary representatives, committees or bureaux for women's affairs attached to different ministries could mean a diffusion of interest and a weakening of influence within each ministry: recommendations from sub-groups could seem of minor importance compared with the main focus of the ministry. Again,the effectiveness of specific appointments to deal with women's interest must depend on the genuineness of governmental commitment to improvement.

(iii) More important still, improvements in the education and role of women must be desired by society as a whole. Here we must recall the tremendous influence of economic conditions within a country in reinforcing or changing social attitudes - the country's need for a labour force, for industrial workers, for food-producing work by women, for rural production, for urbanisation. Considerations of economic survival are likely to overwhelm considerations for improving

the lot of a section of the population. The provision of education, and the demand for it, may well be determined by what seem the probable economic returns rather than by any more altruistic principles (though, as one contributor has noted, male and female attitudes to the value of education may differ here).

(iv) The attitudes of society have been shown to be influential in various countries: and here the work of unofficial and informal organisations can be important as these bodies produce change in stereotyped attitudes and lead to acceptance of new ways of life.

It has been clear that in our different countries women's organisations play varied parts. In some there have been for decades a number of well-organised women's movements; in others there have been only a few such organisations or it is only recently that such a movement has come into being. Some women's organisations have been politically inspired and under the control of central government while others have arisen spontaneously and autonomously. Here obviously the nature of a country's government - especially whether it permits the free development of such groups -is decisive.

In the matter of forming women's associations, some differences between developing and developed countries

become noticeable. The latter have a longer tradition of women's organisations of a formal kind. There is too a spiral effect:where women are more educated, they are more likely to be articulate about inadequacies in their present situation and more able to present the case for changes needed to improve that situation. They may be more aware of ways of bringing about change - and so more likely to form a specific organisation to work for their objectives. In addition, for women's movements to be effective, women need to be able to devote time and energy to them. It is very evident that women working at subsistence level in Third World conditions or in straitened economic conditions in any country are unlikely to have the leisure and the energy to form associations and attend meetings to demand improvements in their life-style. Then, as one contributor has pointed out, such conditions reduce the likelihood of providing role models of educated and aspiring women for the next generation.

But in the developed countries women used to scholarly analysis and discussion have on occasion diverged from each other in their interpretations of what is good for women - and for men and for society in general. Thus conflicting theories and interpretations of women's characteristics and rights have developed. So the possibilities of effective action are reduced as

oppositions in views held by different groups of women become obvious. In developing countries on the other hand, the new levels of consciousness of women's rights and needs may give greater unity and strength to recently created women's movements.

(v) It must here be recalled that pressure for improvements in women's education and women's role in the society has not come only from women. We may note, for instance, the encouraging report from Japan,where women have until recently been slow to demand equality, that now men as well as women are pressing for reform in the situation. In other countries too (since the nineteenth century development of suffragette movements -or earlier) some men have have given invaluable support to demands for better education and employment for women. Yet while men in various countries may broadmindedly support the liberation of women, equal partnership in domestic work and child-care seems, from the reports given, to be as yet imperfectly achieved in any country.

(vi) Many professional organisations with both men and women members have recently produced statements about the need for better opportunities for women, analysing the defects in the present structure of education and appointments within the professions. Possibly such proposals are more likely to be

effective than those coming from central legislation, since they are made with awareness of actual conditions within the profession, generally carry the consent of those working in that profession and can be implemented by those concerned. The teaching profession which is, as many contributors have indicated, one in which women are greatly involved, would seem a profession where concerted action for equality can have special importance -some teachers' organisations, as, e.g. in the United Kingdom, already have been active in proposals for elimination of sex bias in textbooks and in other aspects of school life. But in this profession particularly -as contributions have also shown- there is a great need to eliminate discrimination in the appointment of women to positions of responsibility: and a need for a systematic inclusion of the study of sex equality during teacher education.

Organisations of employers similarly, even if men are in a majority here, could probably be more effective than legislation in reducing constraints on women's further and higher education by ensuring adequate opportunities to use that education in subsequent employment.

Similarly, women's membership of trade unions has led in various countries to demands from the unions to eliminate discrimination against women. Such action by committees of

both men and women help to remove one of the main handicaps to the vocational education of women - the situation in which young women are not welcomed in certain apprenticeships and so are discouraged from trying to become equally educated in technical and technological skills.

Finally, while no one country offers the recipe for the ideal policy for the education of girls and women, much can be gained by comparison and by monitoring of the implementation of different policies in other countries. Policies certainly must be adapted to the needs of each individual country: they must take into account the major problems of the country and its economy at a given time, while holding to the basic principles of equal human rights. Nevertheless, our comparisons have found a great many common factors underlying the condition of female education in different parts of the world and have suggested some common solutions.

In such comparisons and transmissions of information, international organisations can play a continuing role. Already,as reports from some of our countries have indicated, United Nations agreements have been affecting educational and other policies or have at least received formal recognition

by a number of governments. While such recognition does not ensure effective action, it remains a focus for future planning.

Thus from the present analysis we can conclude that while the form of policy statements may be relatively unimportant, each strategy exemplified has something to commend it. Education must be equal for all: therefore gender-specific policies may be sometimes necessary, but as a temporary expedient, before giving way to a common educational policy. Legislation is important, to sanction and to reward. Political appointments of various kinds can safeguard attention to women's education and employment - though the essential factor here is not the nature of the appointment but governmental good-will and readiness to ensure that resources are made available to implement policies. Similarly, a variety of organisations can provide publicity and information to ensure that girls and women know how to fulfill their potential. Informal organisations, women's movements of different kinds, parents' organisations, professional, employers' and trade organisations can in all probability make the major contribution to changing and developing wiser social attitudes: and it is such change and development in social attitudes which will eventually create the best kind of equality in education and in the life of society.

Margaret B. Sutherland

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Résumé

L'inégalité de traitement en matière d'éducation et de formation qui est présente un peu partout dans le monde entre garçons et filles ou entre hommes et femmes est abondamment reconnue. Depuis les trois dernières décennies, beaucoup de pays ont tenté de remédier à cette situation. Toutefois, la reconnaissance officielle de ce problème varie considérablement selon les pays et les moyens utilisés pour combattre cette discrimination restent très diversifiés. Certains pays ont procédé par législation, d'autres ont confié à certains ou à certaines ministres des responsabilités particulières en ce domaine; d'autres ont présumé que l'amélioration du système éducatif conjuguée aux forces du marché résoudraient le problème sans qu'il y ait nécessité d'adopter quelque mesure contraignante que ce soit.

Cet ouvrage présente le résultat de ces recherches. Il livre de l'information au sujet de la situation actuelle qui est faite aux filles et aux femmes en matière d'éducation dans certains pays : les États-Unis, le Burkina Faso, le Canada, la France, la Hongrie, l'Italie, le Japon, le Sri Lanka, l'Espagne, l'Uruguay, le Zimbabwe et le Royaume-Uni. Il offre donc un panorama varié, qui aborde tant la situation des pays développés que celle des pays en développement, reflétant les différentes approches législatives aussi bien que les conditions sociales variées qui sous-tendent les décisions politiques. Dans une deuxième partie, ces comparaisons servent à départager les pays qui ont des politiques clairement définies à l'égard des femmes d'autres pays qui n'ont pas ces pratiques. Il s'avère nécessaire d'établir dans cette étude des relations entre ces politiques et les différents contextes économiques de ces pays. Enfin, l'ouvrage examine la pertinence de ces diverses politiques, tente de repérer les stratégies le plus ou les moins efficaces, et émet des propositions destinées à servir de guides lors d'éventuelles prises de décision.

It has been amply recognized that boys and girls, and men and women, are treated unequally, in the areas of education and training, in many places throughout the world. In the last three decades, many countries have attempted to remedy the situation. However, official recognition of the problem varies considerably from country to country, and widely different means of combating such discrimination continue to exist. Some countries have used the legislative process, others have given men or women ministers special responsibilities in this area; others still have assumed that the joint effect of market forces and an improved educational system would solve the problem, in the total absence of constrictive measures.

This volume offers the results of this research. The first part provides information on the educational contexts now presenting themselves to girls and women in a number of countries : the United States, Burkina Faso, Canada, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Sri Lanka, Spain, Uruguay, Zimbabwe, and the United Kingdom. It thus offers a broad and varied perspective, embracing both developed and developing countries, and reflecting a variety of legislative approaches, as well as the varied social conditions that underlie political decisions. In the second part of the volume, comparisons have served to determine which countries now have clearly defined policies regarding women and which do not. In so doing, it has proven necessary to establish relationships between such policies and the economic contexts of the countries concerned. Finally, the appropriateness of the various policies is examined, an attempt is made to single out the strategies that are most efficient, or least efficient, and guidelines for potential decision making are proposed.